

SPECIAL REPORT

SEPTEMBER 2, 1991 \$2.50

TIME

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

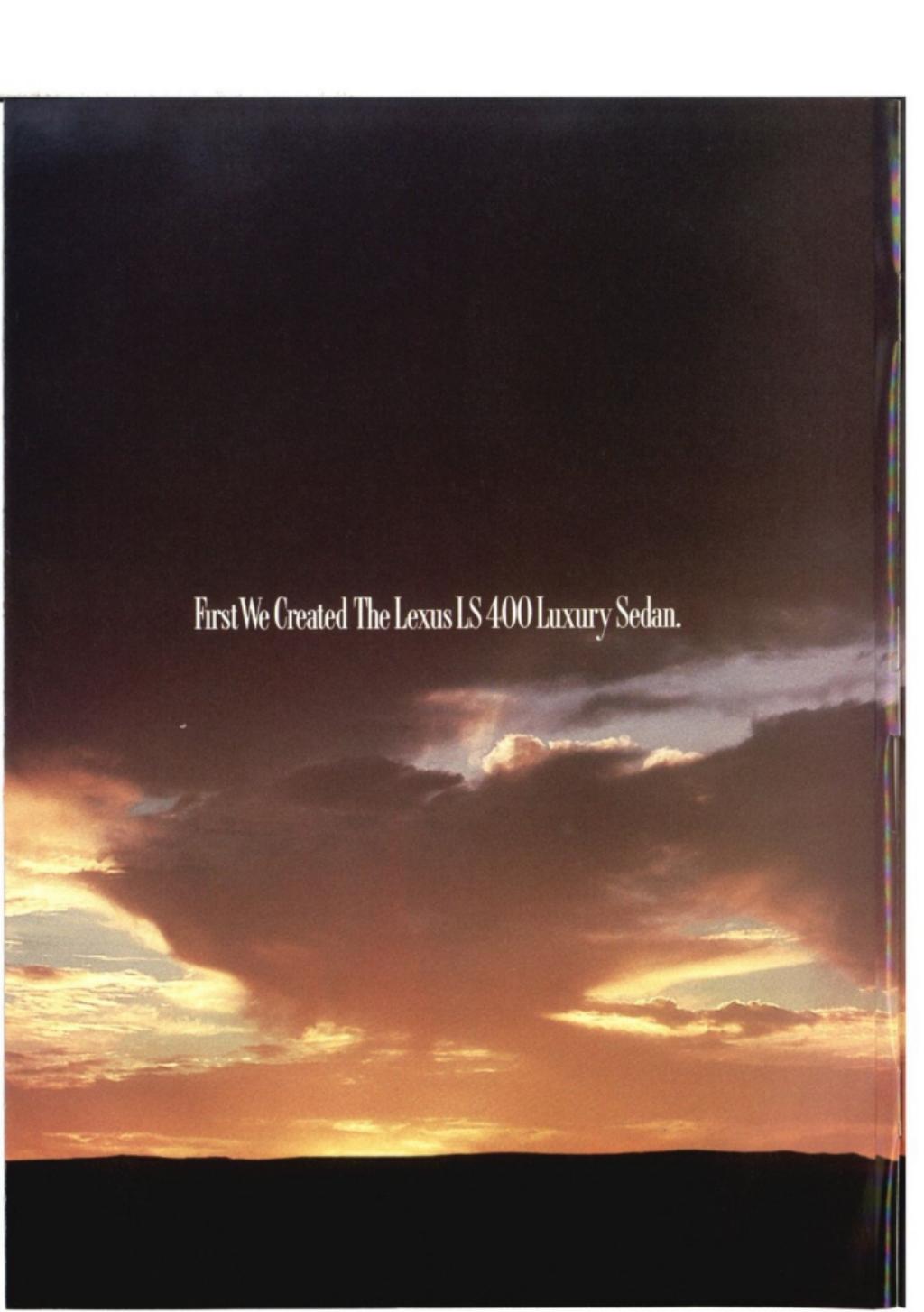
AUGUST 1991

Boris Yeltsin



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TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

COVER STORIES

18 THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION:**Serfdom's End**

A thousand years of autocracy are reversed

UPHEAVAL: Gorbachev buries the Communist Party**THE KGB AND THE ARMY:** The future will bring drastic change**COUP POSTMORTEM:** How Yeltsin unhinged the hijacking**THE WHITE HOUSE:** Bush learns to love the Russian president**INTERNATIONAL FALLOUT:**

What the West can do

THE ORIGINS: The prelude to the putsch against Gorbachev**RISING STAR:** Is Boris good enough for Russia?

24 / YELTSIN'S VICTORY MAY SIGNAL GORBACHEV'S DEMISE

INTERVIEW The Archbishop of Canterbury on God, gays and hostages 12**BUSINESS** B.C.C.I. was as much a weapons merchant as a bank 56**HEALTH** Preach chastity or offer condoms? How to save teens from AIDS 60**SCIENCE** The Big Bang theory is under fire but not yet exploded 62**EDUCATION** School ought to last much longer for U.S. kids 64**LAW** In Tulsa young offenders get a dose of squad-car medicine 65**FOOD** Eat your celery! It may help save your life 66**BOOKS** A new novel asks who wrote the book of life 68**FASHION** Homespun denim is puttin' on the rit 71**THEATER** Why Broadway's Big Three musicals may just run forever 72**DEPARTMENTS****LETTERS** 8 **MILESTONES** 63**CRITICS' VOICES** 10 **PEOPLE** 74**COVER** Photograph for TIME by Robert Wallis—SIPA Press

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56 / B.C.C.I.'S DEADLY BUSINESS



72 / AN ENDURING PASSION

FROM THE PUBLISHER

As our journalists in three cities set out to cover the astonishing events in the Soviet Union last week, none of us could guess the outcome. We were certain of one thing, though: our staff has an extraordinary wealth of expertise on the subject.

Heading the team in Moscow was bureau chief John Kohan, who studied Russian in the U.S. and Leningrad, and has reported and written stories on the Soviet Union since 1975. On hand too were correspondent James Carney and reporter Ann Simmons, both Russian speakers. During the unsettling days and nights after the announcement of the coup, invaluable assistance came from the bureau staff—secretary Emma Petrova, driver Boris Tyunin and office researcher Yuri Zarakhovich, the first Soviet citizen to file for TIME as a formally accredited reporter.

In New York City we had senior writer Bruce Nelan, a former Moscow bureau chief who wrote our 1989 Man of the Decade cover story on Gorbachev. Working with him were assistant editor Brigid O'Hara-Forster, whose research about Soviet politics is given added breadth by her abiding interest in the works of Chekhov, and Kevin Fedarko, who has a master's in Russian history and literature. In Washington, Strobe Talbott and David Aikman provided insights gained doing numerous Soviet stories. Since 1969, when he was an intern in the Moscow bureau, Strobe has made nearly 30 trips to the Soviet Union. His story on Gorbachev and the hard-liners in this week's special section draws on reporting from a visit there early this summer. Talbott is collaborating with historian Michael Beschloss on a book about the Bush-Gorbachev relationship, to be published next year. Aikman, who has a Ph.D. in Russian and Chinese history, has followed Boris Yeltsin since 1989 and has twice interviewed the Russian leader.



The Moscow team: Simmons, Carney, Kohan and Zarakhovich

"He turned around gratefully, grinned, and said, 'The KGB would not be pleased to know that you may have saved my life.'"

When he visited New York City in 1989, Aikman recalls, "I once had to practically leap upon his back to stop him from crossing Second Avenue as a garbage truck bore down upon the intersection. He turned around gratefully, grinned, and said, 'The KGB would not be pleased to know that you may have saved my life.' " Instead, as our story explains, Yeltsin's career is prospering.

Lizette P. Vach

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The beaches became their ballroom. The boardwalks took the place of the fashion show runway. And the nightlife of the big cities—the orchestras, the nightclubs, the entertainers—followed them to the sun.

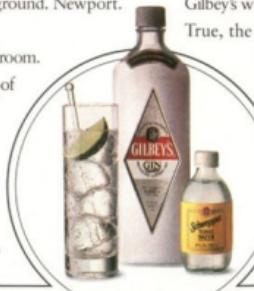
Even their taste in cocktails

followed. Because the very same gin that made the perfect Martini in Manhattan made the perfect gin and tonic in Newport: a tall, iced glass of

Gilbey's with a splash of tonic.

True, the days of the grand old boardwalks are long gone, and the big band by the water has been replaced by the boombox, but at least a bit of the old magic from the great resort life of the twenties is coming back.

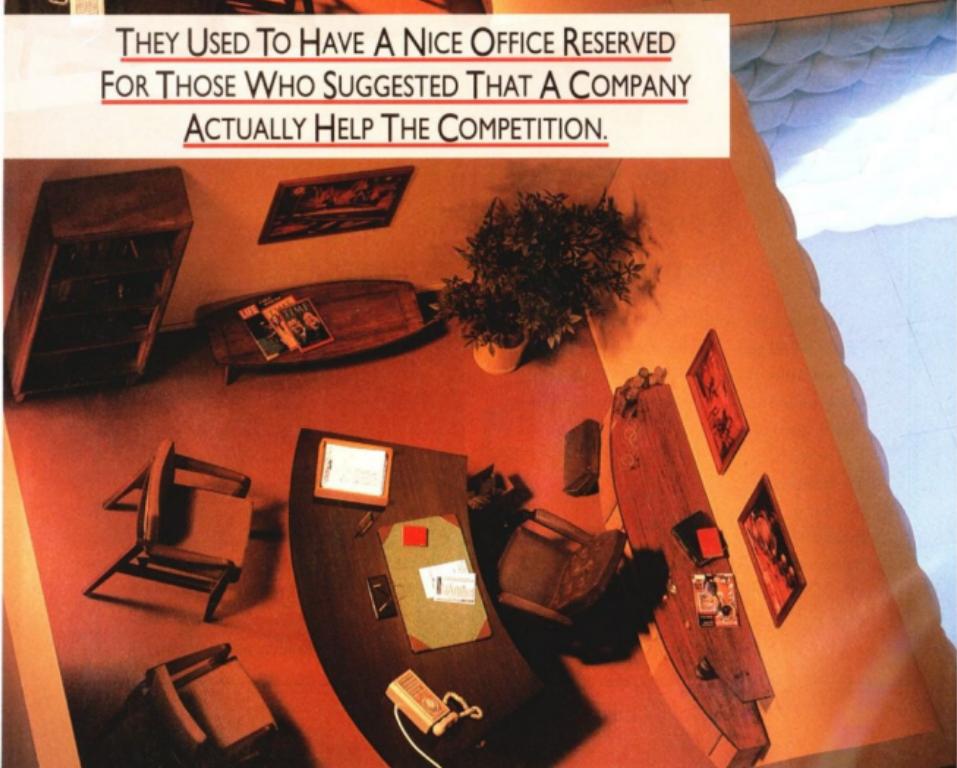
The Gilbey's and tonic is once again making quite a splash.

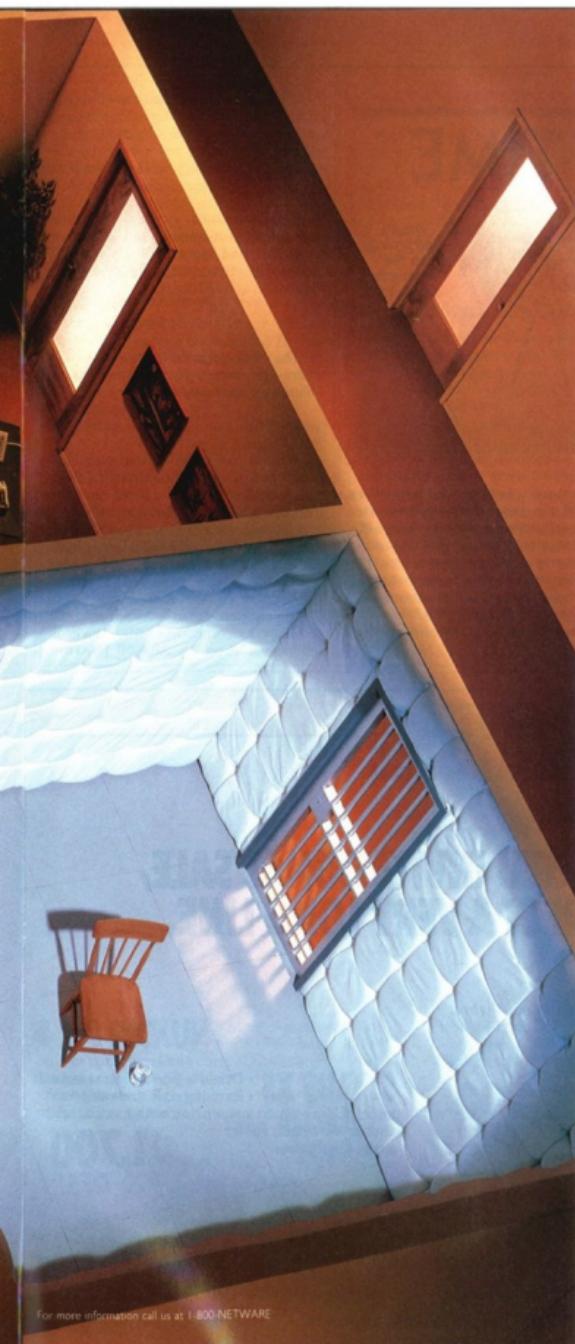


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LETTERS

BUSYBODIES & CRYBABIES

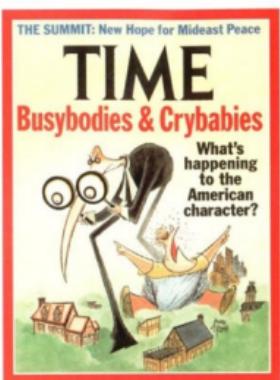
"What has happened to the right to privacy, normally so dear to Americans?"

Rafael Manory
Melbourne

You touched the center of the change in the American character [NATION, Aug. 12]. Somehow we have to return logic and common sense to the national psyche by recognizing that only real victims deserve our sympathy, that busybodies infringe on everyone's freedom and that we all have the right to be different.

Billy W. Beatty
Dayton

You were so busy wagging your finger and tut-tutting about journalists who find "no sexual charge too old or too trivial to pass up" that you failed to notice that in



the same issue your Grapevine page did exactly that. In giving out the "Pee-wee Herman Awards," TIME referred to Prince Andrew as "the Royal Stud" and told us that the father of the Duchess of York ("Fergie") was a "loyal member of a London 'health' club specializing in massage and sex." Talk about old and trivial.

Don Hewitt and Marilyn Berger Hewitt
New York City

It's time the American public took a critical look at itself. Maybe now we can become the people we imagine we already are.

Mary Ellen Brew
Spencerport, N.Y.

A nation that has grown out of misfits and outcasts, aristocrats and deportees, teetotalers and moonshiners, slaves and slavers will survive the petty behavior of busybodies and crybabies.

Jon Adams
Long Beach, Calif.

The buck apparently now stops nowhere. Our successes are our own, but our failures are invariably caused by others.

Brian Helgeland
Los Angeles

Why do you so harshly exorcise environmentalists and animal-rights advocates? Both attempt to defend the earth from continued overweening abuse.

Ruth R. Yanne
Longmeadow, Mass.

It's the Law

In your item about a New York State social-services employee who allegedly robbed banks on his days off [NATION,

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Aug. 12], a federal prosecutor called the state's hiring the man despite his prior criminal record "mind boggling." Perhaps a lesson in the law would help clear the prosecutor's head. Public agencies cannot deny employment to anyone solely because of a criminal record.

*Terrance M. McGrath
N.Y. State Department of Social Services
Albany*

Shelby Steele's Perspective

African-American author Shelby Steele hits the nail on the head [INTERVIEW, Aug. 12]. The criterion for affirmative action should not be race; it should be whether a person is disadvantaged in education, income or health.

*Marilyn Chates
Grand Isle, Vt.*

We who live in the Bay Area are familiar with Steele's lopsided, black-bashing banter. It gives him the publicity he thrives on. He does little to aid any agenda other than his own. The Clarence Thomas nomination offers Steele the opportunity of a lifetime to sing the praises of a fellow conservative pawn while dancing to the tune of the white establishment's master plan.

*Lorna Meyer
East Palo Alto, Calif.*

Real Hardships in Cuba

Your description of the social and economic adversities facing young people in Cuba today only scratched the surface [WORLD, Aug. 12]. You did not discuss the serious human-rights abuses that continue to take place in that country. While your article spoke of fun and frolic in the streets of Havana and the "hardship" of doing

without designer jeans, it mentioned nothing of the persecution of Cuban political dissidents, many of whom are under 18. Our organization can provide the gory details. You can be sure that the children, nieces and nephews of Roberto Luque Escalona, who was recently imprisoned for writing an open letter criticizing the Cuban government, aren't out partying all night at the local disco.

*Lilian S. Dorka, Project Coordinator
Of Human Rights, Inc.
Washington*

Not So Physically Correct

It was undoubtedly the pictures that did it, but our People item on the 1992 calendars featuring supermodels Elle Macpherson and Claudia Schiffer offended several readers, most of them female [Aug. 12]. Julia Kazaks of Washington wrote, "This is a hypocritical betrayal of your general stance on equality for women." Diane Garvin-Lofshult of LaCosta, Calif., thought we were clever to run the story near Barbara Brandon's cartoon strip ridiculing sexist attitudes. Judy Fellers of Springfield, Va., had a plea for equal, uh, coverage, suggesting that we at least balance the pinups with pictures of attractive men instead of showing "a fat sumo wrestler," as we did on our July 22 People page.

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CRITICS' VOICES

BY TIME'S REVIEWERS. Compiled by Andrea Sachs



MOVIES

DOC HOLLYWOOD. An impatent young doctor (Michael J. Fox) stumbles into a serenely integrated community in South Carolina—"Hee Haw hell," he calls it—and acquires a pig, a girlfriend and some scruples. It's a feature-length attack of the aw-shucks, but Fox, world's nicest star, makes it painless.

TRUST. Typical Hal Hartley dialogue: "Will you trust me?" "If you trust me first." In this deadpan romance, the writer-director limns the palship of a pregnant high schooler (Adrienne Shelly) and a sociopath genius (Martin Donovan). Another fond sketch of losers from the down-scale version of Woody Allen.

ILLUSTRATION COURTESY OF MICHAEL BARTALOS

ANOTHER YOU. A congenital liar (Gene Wilder) and his con man friend (Richard Pryor) get involved in an elaborate insurance scam. This comedy is complicated too—but a big why-bother. By now these two gifted farseurs are doing it from memory, not from inspiration. The parts keep moving long after the machine is turned off.



TELEVISION

DREAM ON (HBO, Sunday nights). Book editor and divorced dad Martin Tupper (Brian Benben) is trying to make sense of the '90s. So why do scenes from '50s TV shows keep popping into his head? In its second season, this decidedly adult sitcom, which makes deft use of old black-and-white clips, is better than ever.

WHO WILL TEACH FOR AMERICA? (PBS, Sept. 3, 9 p.m. on most stations). In late 1989 Wendy Kopp conceived a sort of domestic Peace Corps to bring the best young teaching minds to underserved inner-city and rural schools. This intimate, uplifting account of the program's first year is guaranteed to make you smile.



MUSIC

BOB DYLAN: THE BOOTLEG SERIES, VOL. 1-3 (Columbia). Since its release almost five months ago, this mind-snapping collection of rare, unreleased or alternate takes of 58 Dylan tunes has racked up sales over 300,000 and has inspired everyone from Paul McCartney to Frank Zappa to scour their vaults. This collection (\$45.95 for the 3-CD set) stands apart, though: it is the audio notebooks of rock's greatest songwriter. Songs that

Dylan leaves off a record would make history for anyone else. The last three tunes in Vol. 3, including the beautiful *Series of Dreams*, are the most recent and demonstrate beyond doubt that he's still the guy to beat.

EMIL GILELS: PROKOFIEV & KABALEVSKI (harmonia mundi). Gilels was magisterial in both Prokofiev's brilliantly ferile *Concerto No. 3* and his *Second Sonata*, but the exuberant, captivatingly melodic *Piano Concerto No. 3*, with composer Dmitri Kabalevski conducting, makes this reissue irresistible.

GEORGE LEWIS WITH KID SHOTS/ THE GEORGE LEWIS RAGTIME JAZZ BAND OF NEW ORLEANS (American Music, 1206 Decatur St., New Orleans, La. 70116). These two CDs bracket the first decade of the so-called New Orleans jazz revival, spearheaded by this lyrical and passionate clarinetist who inspired jazz traditionalists around the world. The first album is a remastering of the legendary 1944 sides recorded by

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jazz historian William Russell; the second is a previously unissued 1952 session. Both capture the power and drive of Lewis at his peak.



PERCUSSION FOUR. Gwen Verdon restages a hit number from *Dancin'*, the Broadway delight by her late husband Bob Fosse, for Chicago's esteemed Hubbard Street Dance Company this week at the Ravinia Festival in Highland Park, Ill.

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW. The Oregon Shakespeare Festival at Ashland and its sister stage in Portland form the largest U.S. regional theater. New artistic director Henry Woronitz plays Petruchio in *The Shrew* through September; he directs Jerry Sterner's *Other People's Money*, a satire of corporate raiders, through October; both at Ashland.



BOOKS

THREE BLIND MICE: HOW THE TV NETWORKS LOST THEIR WAY by Ken Auletta (Random House; \$25). It's no secret that CBS, NBC and ABC began hitting the skids in the mid-1980s; this long book reports the high-level pratfalls in meticulous and sometimes gossipy detail.



ETCETERA

STANDING IN THE TEMPEST: PAINTERS OF THE HUNGARIAN AVANT-GARDE, 1908-1930. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. More than 150 paintings, drawings and prints along with historical newsreels and political posters, many not previously seen in the U.S., explore the flowering of

modern Hungarian culture in the years before and after the war that was supposed to have ended all wars. Through Sept. 8.

THE MOST HAPPY FELLA. Frank Loesser's *Napua Valley* fable, done along operatic

lines well before Andrew Lloyd Webber came along, has been a cult icon since its 1956 Broadway production. New York City Opera has a new staging. It stars Louis Quilico as the middle-aged lover of a pert mail-order bride.

MYTHIC PRESENCE

Marlon Brando's emergence in the early '50s registered a drastic change in the cultural weather. The masculine ideal reflected in the Hollywood mirror had been basically suave and gentlemanly. Brando, who grew up middle class, Midwestern and Wasp, radiated pure working-class alienation—an inarticulate promise of danger, sex and social abrasion. Which is why, as *TIME* film critic Richard Schickel tells us in **BRANDO: A LIFE IN OUR TIMES** (Atheneum; \$21.95), he was a mythic presence for all the young urban professionals of the '50s. Rude but sensitive, rough but anguished, Brando was their version of pastoral—a noble-savage counterpart to the corporate rat race. The myth got lost in the series of unsuccessful movies he made after his greatest, *On the Waterfront*. Schickel concentrates on how and why this happened to the celluloid Brando, leaving the real-life actor to rut, brood and grow fat in some other, more scandalous, less lucid book.

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INTERVIEW

Answering the Call of God In the 1990s

From dealing with hostage takers to deciding whether to ordain gays, Archbishop of Canterbury GEORGE CAREY redefines his exacting job to suit the times

By DAVID AIKMAN LONDON

Q. You once said, "I've never found it easy to believe in God." Why not? Has belief come easier over the years?

A. I can identify with many people's struggles with notions of faith. When you look at a world such as this and you see, for example, the Holocaust, this is where I identify with many of my Jewish friends, when 6 million Jews perished and probably at least that number again of Christians and Russians and others who died. Now, they must have said their prayers, and yet God didn't deliver them. There are no glib answers to that sort of thing. Having said that, I think the intellectual grounds for God and for the vitality and reality of the Christian faith are strong.

Is belief getting easier? Well, yes, I think it is. Simply because, over the years, for me personally there have been many, many indications of God's presence in the world, personal happenings where I've been convinced of his reality and answered prayer in all kinds of ways which I couldn't quantify.

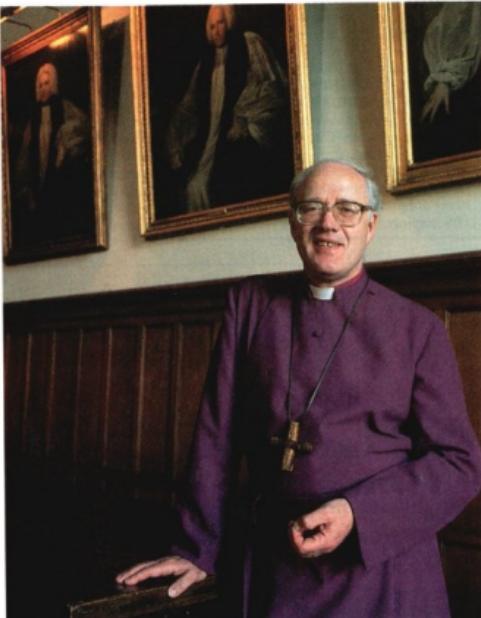
Q. What does being a Christian mean to you?

A. First of all, it is a personal allegiance to a historical figure, Jesus Christ. It means believing in him and following his life-style, his person. For me, Christianity is a way of life. It is to be holy, a spiritual person for whom that spirituality takes a primary role in anything I do and anything I say. I think that is authentic Christianity. It's the kind of thing that led the first Christians to the stake.

Q. You have described a deep experience at the age of 17. What happened?

A. I'd been brought up in a working-class family in the East End of London, bombed

out in the war, moved to our home in Essex, was a deep-thinking young man searching for something, was taken along to a local Anglican church and then found through the fellowship there the beginning of answers to some questions. I felt the



reality of the Christian faith beginning then, and, no doubt about it, it was the beginning of a very deep and meaningful experience. It was a real encounter with the living God.

Q. Was there a lasting change in your personality or your ambitions as a result of that?

A. I suppose it is true to say that the experience was so real to me that there was a moral change, no question about that. My family was solidly working class, and my mother and father were deeply intelligent,

They actually made the journey into the Christian faith later, after I did, and we were able to argue and discuss it together and so on. But meeting Christ also meant that I met education, and it had a very profound influence on my discovering the richness of life. I've said that at the age of 17½, I discovered the letter *h* in the English language, which, you know, isn't much known among the English working class. Now that's not to be elitist about it, but that was a reality.

Q. Many people believe that all religions point in some way to God or at least to the idea of God. Why should people in a pluralistic world today prefer Christianity to other faiths?

A. Well, I think many—not all—religions do point to God. Whether all religions lead to God is a different matter altogether, and, again, one has got to say within the Christian tradition that they don't all lead to God, that Jesus Christ is the way, the truth and the life. I stand with that. The kind of people, however, who say that all religions lead to God are generally the ones who want to avoid any way of getting to God. In other words, they want to sit on the fence themselves.

Q. You have said that Christians should not proselytize adherents of other religions. How do you reconcile that with your statement that Christians "are under a historic mandate to proclaim their faith to all people"?

A. I think there is a great difference between proselytizing and evangelizing. Evangelizing is a portrayal of the person of Jesus Christ while sensitively listening to the views of other people, taking into account where other people are at, affirming where they are. Proselytizing is the arrogant assumption that the other person has nothing to offer to a debate. There is no dialogue in proselytizing. It is a kind of cowboys-and-Indians approach to another person that robs him of his dignity. Responsible evangelism always listens to the culture of a person.

Q. What is your perspective on Jews and Judaism?

A. Well, my perspective is that if you look at *Romans*, chapters 9 to 11, you will see that we could not be Christians today were it not for the Jews, and we owe so much to

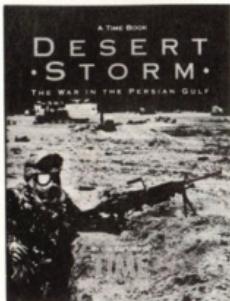
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them, to the Old Testament, the life of the Torah, the Prophets. They gave us the Messiah, Jesus Christ. The difference between us, when we're agreed about so much, is Christology. I'd want to say, well, I have been captivated by this person, Jesus Christ, the onus is upon me to share him with all people, Jews and other people. But in the eyes of Christians, Jews are always in a very special relationship with God.

Q. Do you favor the admission of women to every rank in the Anglican priesthood?

A. I see no reason why not. My theological starting point would be from the fact that I believe that biblically, if you work it out from a theology of baptism, if you work it out from the theology of the Spirit's gifts to his people, to women as well, the evidence leads me to see the ordination of women to the priesthood as something quite logical that follows from a woman as an equal in the sight of God. I can understand from the Roman Catholic side that the argument from tradition is a very important one. Women have not been in the ordained ministry for nearly 2,000 years, so this is a novel thing. Against that, I would argue that it took the church 1,825 years to come to terms with slavery and overrule it.

Q. How do you balance this view against your desire to improve relations with Roman Catholics and the Eastern Orthodox Church, both of which oppose women's ordination?

A. I don't think we must ever sacrifice the truth of Christianity for the peace of Christians, so I believe that's terribly important for me. I long for peace, I long for unity. I believe that it is at the very heart of our mission. But all our churches are not yet united, and yet the question of women's ordination has been put. Why should we subordinate ourselves to the views of other churches with whom we are not yet in unity? Rome has never sought Anglican advice on any changes it made; neither did the Orthodox communion seek Roman Catholic advice. We're looking for the things that draw us together, and there is so much. That creates the greater pain, doesn't it?

Q. Many priests within the Anglican tradition have abandoned whole areas of historical Christian faith. Do you think there should be minimal criteria of belief for admission to the Anglican clergy?

A. We already have it, actually, in that whenever I ordain or a bishop ordains, we read out the statements "Do you believe that the Bible contains all things necessary for salvation? Will you accept the doctrine of the Church of England? Will you obey the bishop?" And so on. People know they are actually going along with the whole package, which includes the trustworthiness of the Bible, its centrality in terms of authority and tradition and reason. So we can't really pick and choose.

INTERVIEW

Q. What is your position on ordaining avowed, practicing homosexuals?

A. Now I know some people have called me homophobic. In fact, I'm far from that. I've ordained homosexuals, but I think we've all got to understand that the Bible is consistently against practicing homosexuality, and therefore I would have to say, probably with the majority of bishops and probably the majority of Christians in the Church of England, that we see no way of going against that tradition.

Q. Do you see your role as requiring you to speak out at times in criticism of the government?

A. I hope I will have the faithfulness of my calling to be prepared to do that if I ever felt that our government and nation were either renegeing on Christian values and commitment to the poor and helpless or acting in such a way that they were denying Christian truth. I have a very close relationship with the Prime Minister [John Major] and the ministers of government. We talk a lot to the Foreign Office about our hostages in Lebanon and about other things because the Anglican Communion is very much an international body. We are actually more international than the British government. We've lost our empire, the Commonwealth is in name only, but the Anglican Communion has more than 32 countries, so we've got all these links.

Q. What do you hope to accomplish as Archbishop?

A. I want to demystify the term evangelism and address the urgent need of being a relevant church in a needy world. We have to face the fact that for 150 years, the Church of England hasn't really come to grips with the culture of its day, hasn't addressed the central issues. We've actually plodded along very nicely. We've used our position well, I believe, in society. But we've been bleeding to death, and that is a very urgent issue we've got to face up to. It presents all kinds of challenges to us today. If we ended up being a smaller church but much more open and confident of doing good things, I would have felt we had achieved something very real indeed.

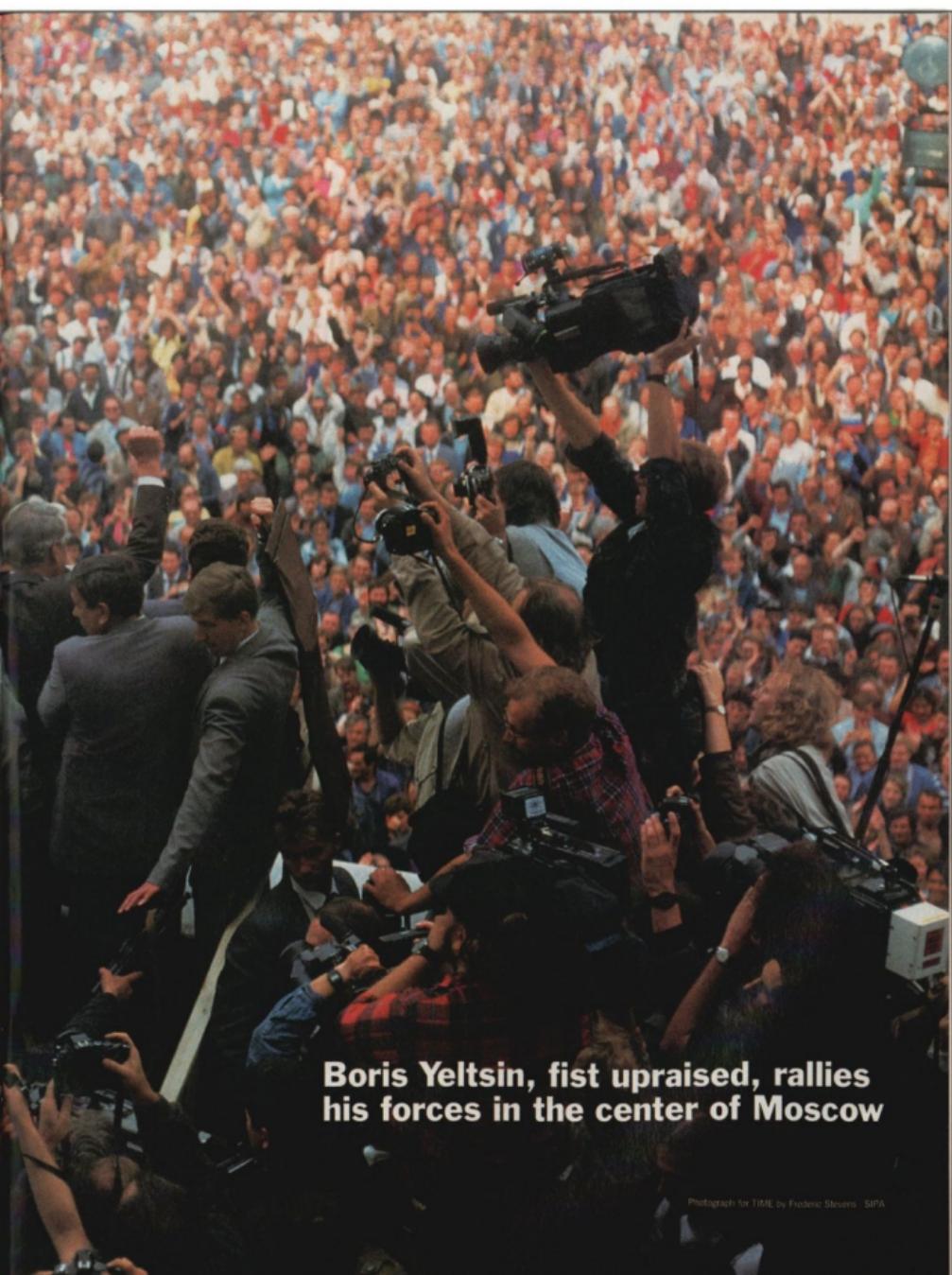
Q. You once described the Anglican Church as "an old lady muttering platitudes through toothless gums." What image would you like it to project?

A. I think the image that I'd like to see is the picture in the Gospel of John, chapter 13, of Christ washing the feet of his disciples. I think the church has got to take the form of a servant in stooping and sharing, in caring action. The person whose feet we are washing? Well, it could be the homosexual, it could be the starving poor. It could be the very rich man who has no need of God. So the church has got to be the servant of all, and if it is, then it will be the kind of church I would be proud to belong to.

TIME

SEPTEMBER 2, 1991





Boris Yeltsin, fist upraised, rallies his forces in the center of Moscow

The Russian Revolution

By LANCE MORROW

An abyss opened for a moment, and black bats flew out. They filled the air with old nightmares, throwbacks to a style of history that the world had been forgetting. The Soviet Union was seized by a sinister anachronism: its dying self. Men with faces the color of a sidewalk talked about a "state of emergency." They rolled in tanks and told stolid lies. The world imagined another totalitarian dusk, cold war again, and probably Soviet civil war as well. If Gorbachev was under arrest, who had possession of the nuclear codes?

Three days: then the bats of history abruptly turned, flew back and vanished into the past. By act of will and absence of fear, the Russian people accomplished a kind of miracle, the reversal of a thousand years of autocracy.

Nadezhda Mandelstam, the brilliant, bitter memoirist of the Stalin era, wrote in the early '70s: "Evil has great momentum, but the forces of good are inert. The masses . . . have no fight in them, and will acquiesce in whatever happens." Until last week the Russian character was judged to be politically passive, even receptive to brutal rule. At first the coup seemed to confirm the norm. The news administered a dark shock, followed immediately by a depressed sense of resignation: of course, of course, the Russians must revert to their essential selves, to their own history. Gorbachev and *glasnost* were the aberration; now we are back to fatal normality. "Every country has the government it deserves," Joseph de Maistre wrote in 1811.

Now, after 74 years of communist dictatorship and, centuries before that, of czarist autocracy, the Russians

may get a government they have earned—a democracy. For the first time, they did not subside into an acceptance of overlords. Instead they turned last week's reactionary coup into a transforming rite of passage, an epochal event that forced even Gorbachev to re-examine his most basic beliefs and resign his post as head of the Communist Party.

Citizens poured into the streets, determined, methodical and—the biggest change in a Russian experience suffused with a genius for official terror—astonishingly unafraid. They defied the junta's curfew, built barricades around the Russian Parliament Building, where Boris Yeltsin had organized his resistance. They had absorbed something about people power from Prague, Berlin, even Vilnius. A crowd of Muscovites brought a column of armored personnel carriers (APCs) to a halt, stuffing rosebuds and wildflowers into gun barrels. A line of women stood ready to face down troops with a single banner: **SOLDIERS: DON'T SHOOT MOTHERS AND SISTERS.** Clearly the soldiers had orders not to use force. One of a dozen soldiers who marched to the central telegraph office on Tverskaya Street, when confronted by outraged Muscovites, showed them that the clip of his automatic weapon was empty. When the tanks did move, people were ready with gasoline-filled bottles (named, of course, after the old Stalinist V.M. Molotov). Tank drivers, even paratroop commanders, defected to the resistance. Miners went on strike.

With all of that, the people of Russia last week purchased their freedom and citizenship. They abolished serfdom in Soviet political life. The event is one of the turning points of world history, proclaiming the end of a totalitarianism that has destroyed so much of the 20th century.

The surrender of the old order in Moscow: what began as a reactionary coup became a transforming rite of passage.





The course of the coup was surreal. Has television, which helped unravel the putsch, come to enforce its own brief attention span upon history? Recent great events—the breakup of Eastern Europe, the Persian Gulf war, the failure of the coup—seem to be enacting themselves in shorter and shorter time frames. Three days last week undid 10 centuries of civic dormancy. It is possible that the world is dividing between blood feuders and channel changers. The blood feuders, like zealots in Ireland or the Middle East, cannot forget revenge, even over many years; the impatient channel changers of the electronic age favor fast-paced, variable and possibly shallow new realities. The old communists are blood feuders. The new Russians are channel changers.

The Gang of Eight was caught between the feud and the change. Its coup looked like Stalin's ruthlessness written on the fifth carbon, a smudgy, illegible piece of work. It was fitting that stupidity should be a prevailing theme. An oafish brainlessness has for decades hung over the Soviet communist venture like one of Nikita Khrushchev's suits. Its secret has never been intelligence but rather ruthlessness. The cardinal rule of coupmaking, says Edward Luttwak of Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies, is "to seize control of all the centers of power in one fell swoop, to paralyze the situation." Even banana republics know this. The Gang of Eight was inexplicably though mercifully inept. Perhaps the conspirators picked up some debilitatingly humane manners during the Gorbachev era. They did not launch a coup but proffered a sort of half-coup, saying complimentary things about Gorbachev and holding out the possibility of working with him again. The Gang was a bit like an assassin named Karakozov, who tried to shoot Czar Alexander II in 1866, missed, and is said to have shouted to bystanders as the police led him away, "Fools! I did it for you!"

The biggest mistake the Emergency Committee made was not to kill both Gorbachev and Yeltsin. But the plotters craved constitutional legitimacy for their illegitimate act and could not bring themselves to be ruthless about it. "They may have had Leninist nostalgia," says Luttwak, "but they didn't have a Leninist temperament—which is to shoot the bastards."

Many ineptitudes: tyranny does its best work in the dark, and information is often more powerful than guns. But the committee did not grasp that rudiment either. It did not shut down the country's television, telephones and other communications with the rest of the world. Or maybe it could not have

done so anyway, so pervasive, adaptable and versatile are the electronic instruments of our age.

More broadly, the cabal failed because it was an old-style coup in a new-style society. The Russian people have been transformed over a period of years. They are not the Russians whom Bertrand Russell was talking about when he justified Bolshevik despotism by saying "If you ask yourself how Dostoyevsky's characters should be governed, you will understand." The new Soviets owe much of their transformation and fearlessness to Gorbachev—and by last week they were using that freedom to outgrow him.

Independent power centers have taken hold in the new Soviet Union. There are republic leaders, legitimately elected mayors, legislators, independent journalists. The society is too various and too well educated for rulers to control in the old Stalinist way. Russians are not, as Marx called them, "rude Asiatics." Blair Ruble, director of the Kennan Institute of Advanced Russian Studies at the Woodrow Wilson Center, has observed, "There has been a general trend throughout the post-war period toward increasing education, urbanization and professionalization of the labor force. Those trends bring with them different attitudes toward authority and a greater desire to control one's destiny. It's not the same society it was a generation ago."

The Soviet military-security apparatus tried to use ominously rumbling, fume-belching columns of tanks and APCs to bring Moscow to submission, but proved no more potent than the Wizard of Oz. The communist system by last week had reached such an advanced state of debility that the brain was no longer capable of sending commands to the limbs. What most Soviets will remember about "Acting President" Gennadi Yanayev is his trembling hands as he tried to explain himself on television.

The coup was not necessarily doomed to failure. Many millions of Soviet citizens did not demonstrate against the takeover, but sat back, awaiting the outcome. If other conspirators try again to overthrow the government, they will have learned some lessons from August 1991. They will not make the same mistakes. Suppose the plotters had killed Gorbachev and Yeltsin, found army units to invade the Parliament Building, locked up the country's media, communications, airports and roads . . . The outcome might have been infinitely messier and more dangerous, both for the Soviets and for the world. And a spirit of vindictiveness against all communists may still come to haunt the land.

But the event is probably irrevocable. Russian history is a progression of false dawns, from Catherine the Great to Peter the Great to the Bolshevik Revolution to the Khrushchev thaw. Last week's looked like the real thing.

—Reported by John Kohan/Moscow and

J.F.O. McAllister/Washington

The dawn of the new: a flag of the Russian republic above the barricades. The Russians are no longer to be governed like Dostoyevsky characters.

UPHEAVAL

Desperate Moves

By burying the Communist Party, Gorbachev tries to seize the initiative from Yeltsin and slow his country's breakup. He may be too late.

By BRUCE W. NELAN

Mikhail Gorbachev did not return from his Crimean captivity a hero. Worse, he did not realize it. If he had, he might have better used the drama of his 72 hours in the hands of the secret police to advance his standing among a people disgusted with his halfhearted economic reforms and political vacillation. He could have gone out to thank the Muscovites who had struggled for him as they defied the spectral Stalinists who were trying to bring back the past. He could have publicly embraced his former foe, Boris Yel-

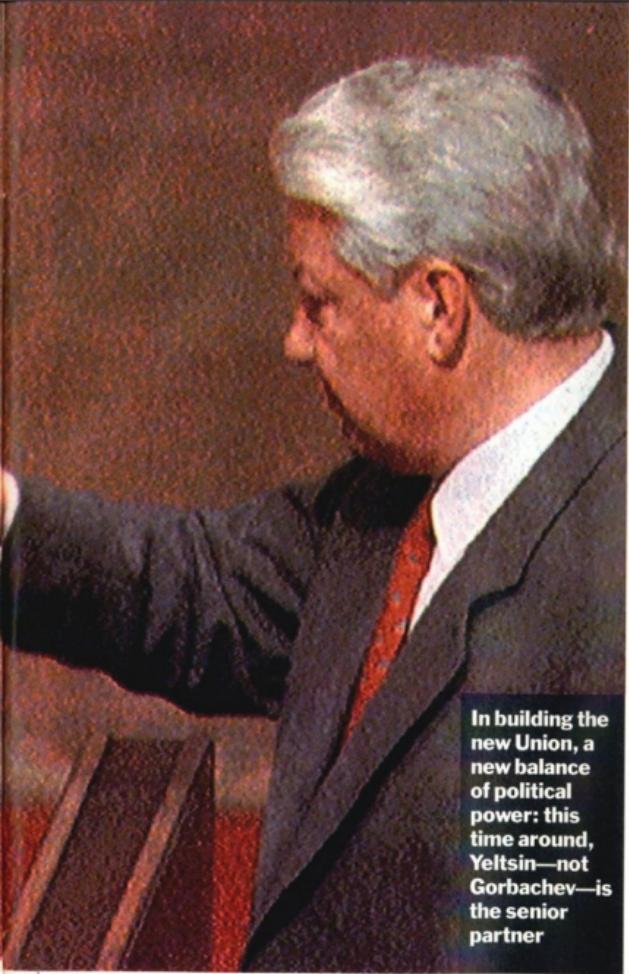
tsin, and accepted with a flourish the sudden, almost unlimited opportunity to create a new society atop the wreckage of the Soviet system.

Most obvious of all, he could have denounced the Communist Party for covertly supporting the coup against him and resigned as its leader. After such a betrayal, how could he remain a Communist and vow to "work for the renewal of the party"?

But he failed to seize the moment. Only on Saturday night, after a series of intense conversations with several close advisers, did Gorbachev come to the inescapable conclusion. He announced he could not carry on as General Secretary

of the party and was resigning immediately. What's more, he recommended that the Central Committee dissolve itself, and authorized local elected councils to take control of the party's extensive property holdings around the country.

The almost 400 members of the Central Committee, once one of the country's most powerful institutions, suddenly faced the prospect of losing their jobs as well as the privileges—from dachas to chauffeur-driven sedans—that so infuriated the average Soviet worker. Gorbachev's decision, however, did more than rip the heart out of the once monolithic party. His move signaled that the Com-



AP/WIDEWORLD

In building the new Union, a new balance of political power: this time around, Yeltsin—not Gorbachev—is the senior partner

unist Party's influence over the country's affairs was finished once and for all, its structure shattered and its 15 million members across the country forced to reshape their political allegiances.

Analysts in the Soviet Union and the West thought they saw Yeltsin's hand in Gorbachev's move, but in a way he goes Yeltsin one better. In July the Russian president had ordered party committees out of the offices, factories, army and KGB units in Russia. Gorbachev now confirms that order—which he had opposed until last week—and effectively extends it to the entire country. For decades the party structures behind the scenes in government, industry and the security forces

had controlled all official decisions. They had also put up some of the toughest rearguard opposition to Gorbachev's efforts to press on with *perestroika*.

Yet Gorbachev's decision to quit the party had the smell of desperation; it is certain to have no impact on the accelerated breakup of the Union and does little to burnish the Soviet leader's credentials as a front-rank reformer. "It would have been greatly to his advantage had he done this a year ago," said Eduard Shevardnadze, a former Gorbachev ally who angrily resigned as Foreign Minister last December and quit the party in July. "But now? It is too late."

For two days after his return to Mos-

cow, Gorbachev had seemed out of touch with events. Shocked by his temporary ouster and perhaps distracted by his wife Raisa's poor health, he retreated into the safety of bureaucratic routine. He closed himself away in the Kremlin and used television speeches and a press conference to address his rescuers. Only well down his list did he mention Yeltsin among those to be thanked. The Russian crowds were not impressed. Just beyond the Kremlin wall in Red Square, a sea of marching, flag-waving demonstrators chanted "Yeltsin! Yeltsin!" and shouted for Gorbachev to resign or resume his interrupted vacation.

If Gorbachev is to have any political future at all, he will have to make common cause with Yeltsin and deliver more drastic economic reforms more quickly than he has ever contemplated. He will have to transform not only the government but the entire country as well. At his rambling press conference the day he returned, Gorbachev ducked the question of whether he or Yeltsin now holds more power. "We have been bound together by the situation," he said.

The new balance between them is already clear. Yeltsin is the senior partner. With the hard-liners in flight, the union treaty they conspired to head off will turn the country into a confederation, a "Union of Sovereign Soviet Republics." The power to govern will flow out from the central offices in Moscow to the parliaments of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, and especially to the largest of all, Yeltsin's Russia. "Gorbachev is back in power," says Alex Pravda, a Soviet expert at St. Antony's College, Oxford University, "but the presidential office is shrinking under his feet."

For his part, Yeltsin erased his early reputation for bluffoonery. He retains his boundless energy and larger-than-life quality, but as George Bush pointed out, "flamboyance is a very positive quality as you climb up there and encourage your people." The Russian president proved last week that he was a leader in the most demanding sense—decisive, foresighted and courageous. When many senior officials in Moscow and the 15 republics watched and waited to test the wind, Yeltsin acted. He declared himself the guardian of democracy and fulfilled his promise. Nor did he rest on his laurels: in the hours and days after the coup, Yeltsin seized the opportunity to issue a fistful of far-reaching decrees. Some, such as temporarily suspending six newspapers, were almost as undemocratic as the old system. And Yeltsin's boorish bossing of Gorbachev in the Russian parliament carried hints of an autocratic style that may do the country more harm than good in the long run. The impassioned Yeltsin may need to be reminded at



The pre-revolutionary flag of Russia in Red Square: it now flies over the republic's parliament and even over Communist Party headquarters

times about the importance of *zakonnost* (legality) in his haste to bring about rapid change.

Even if Yeltsin and Gorbachev learn to work well together, they confront enormous tasks. The problems that preceded the coup—economic decline, government deadlock, systemic decay—are still there. At the top of the agenda is the immediate need to purge the current leadership of coup plotters, accomplices and sympathizers. It was clear last week that the country has no patience for continuing any of these men in office, yet there is a need for expertise and experience for the rebuilding that must get under way. But it is all happening faster and more roughly than many can handle.

The Vanquished Party

In its wake the coup left the kind of devastated power structure that followed the democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe in 1989 and 1990. Even before Gorbachev's decision to decapitate the Communist Party, local governments had taken action. Central Committee headquarters in Moscow was sealed,

party activities were banned or restricted in several republics, and leading communist publications were out of business.

A wave of public revulsion rolled across the country. Moscow party chief Yuri Prokofiev was hauled in for questioning by the state prosecutor. Demonstrators toppled statues of Lenin and other communist heroes in major cities, and some democratic reformers were worried that the rising spirit of vindictiveness might threaten the safety of party officials, especially in non-Russian republics.

A Disastrous Economy

Gorbachev's attempt to move from a centrally controlled to a market economy has been in motion for years but still remains in limbo. To push the economy ahead while the government is being repaired, Gorbachev last week appointed an executive panel. Its members include Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev; Arkadi Volksy, who has been pushing for conversion of defense plants to civilian production; and Grigori Yavlinsky, an economist best known for helping

draft the so-called 500-Day Plan for radical reform.

Gorbachev's near zero popularity stemmed from his failure to bring even a modicum of improvement to living standards. Soviet gross national product fell 10% in the first six months of this year. Prices have risen 48%, and the distribution system has broken down completely. Though the Emergency Committee did not mention it, the defense budget is rising from 26% of the budget in 1990 to 36% in 1991. More than half of all industrial production is military.

The overarching criticism of Gorbachev's economic reforms is that he destroyed the old command system without putting anything workable in its place. Most Western economists agree that before any significant assistance is provided, the Soviet Union will have to create a new economic structure. Up to now, Gorbachev has claimed that the reactionaries held him back. But they have been flushed out. Some senior officials in Washington think Gorbachev is part of the problem. "Sure, the coup plotters were obstacles to economic reform," says an Administration foreign

Photographed in Kent, Connecticut.



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Defiant cheers for Boris Yeltsin: thousands of Muscovites refused to sell democracy for promises of larger servings of bread and sausage

policy expert, "but so was Gorbachev."

Tainted Government

It was not just the people involved in the coup who were tainted; the institutions from which they came—the party, army and KGB—were also finally discredited last week. If Gorbachev is really intent on *perestroika*, which means restructuring, this is his golden moment. He can purge, break up and decentralize at will. In fact, he and the other leaders of the society will need virtually to reinvent the government and then find new people to staff it.

In his initial moves last week Gorbachev gave few signs he was willing to go that far. He declared himself "a socialist by ideology" and disclaimed any intention "to turn to a witch hunt."

Perhaps he feared that a serious search for villains would turn up his own name. He squirmed uncomfortably when he was asked at his press conference why he had appointed and retained the men who betrayed him. As his old friend Alexander Yakovlev put it, Gorbachev was partly to blame for the coup because he was "guilty of forming a

team of traitors." Dmitri Yazov and Vladimir Kryuchkov had been openly plotting against him for months and still, almost incredibly, he confessed he had trusted them. "I simply didn't believe that Yazov was part of the coup," he said.

After meeting on Friday, Gorbachev and Yeltsin strode into the Russian parliament chamber together. From the moment they entered, Yeltsin seemed to loom commandingly over the Soviet President. Yeltsin made no secret of his conviction about who owed what to whom. Gorbachev began his speech like an unpopular child reading a book report before his classmates. Heckling grew so loud that he complained, "My situation is bad enough. Don't compli-

cate and come to Yeltsin's side. The next Minister of Defense, General Yevgeni Shaposhnikov, was the head of the air force last week when he refused to support the coup. Yeltsin's own interior minister, Viktor Barannikov, became national Interior Minister, the Soviet chief of police, replacing Boris Pugo.

Gorbachev also announced that he had dismissed his Foreign Minister, Alexander Bessmertnykh, who had developed a case of "coup flu" when the putsch was launched. Then Gorbachev suggested that some of his ministers had not gone along with the plot. Yeltsin promptly handed him a report on a meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers on the first night of the coup and said, "Read it." Gorbachev read aloud that all but two of some 20 ministers named had backed the junta or did not oppose it.

He also admitted that the Communist Party Central Committee had fallen in with the plotters. "You could even call them traitors," he said. Precisely the word. Kazakhstan's president, Nursultan Nazarbayev, announced that he had resigned from the Politburo and the

The Russian Revolution

Central Committee to protest secret instructions from the party secretariat in Moscow "to ensure that communists assist the State Committee for the State of Emergency."

A Fractured Union

Some kind of union treaty will be signed, creating a new country in place of the old Soviet Union, and at least six republics—Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Ukraine, Moldavia and Georgia—may remain outside it. All three Baltic states have formally declared their independence. On Saturday, the Ukraine's parliament did the same, though it also called for a referendum on the question

Most disgraced of all, the KGB is likely to be broken up. It may retain its foreign intelligence functions, but will see its domestic security apparatus turned into a separate, smaller organization. Other portions may be reorganized as an immigration and customs service and as a security organization for officials, similar to the U.S. Secret Service. The Interior Ministry's OMON special forces, the so-called Black Berets, are almost certain to be disbanded.

While these changes may be healthy, they will not guarantee more democratic institutions in the republics. In the Baltics they probably will, but the story could be different in Central Asia. Some

able political force because he was elected by popular vote. The same was true of Mayor Anatoli Sobchak of Leningrad and others who rallied the hundreds of thousands to oppose the coup. Gorbachev is not even a popularly elected member of parliament, and its communist members are largely responsible for making him President.

The union treaty will provide for drafting a new constitution and holding national elections, but Gorbachev might have to speed things up. "All the central institutions lack legitimacy," says S. Frederick Starr, president of Oberlin College and a Soviet expert. Those include the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet.

"The sole means of regaining it is through an election." The Supreme Soviet was to meet this week to begin restructuring the government. Whatever interim solution it might offer, however, will serve only to fill the gap until the country can go to the ballot box.

Outsiders like to think of Gorbachev as a democrat and free-marketeer. He is neither, in the Western sense of the terms. Nor is Yeltsin, for that matter. Gorbachev has pushed the limits of his philosophy as far as he seems able to, from the rigidities of the state Stalin invented to a relatively open, moderately free Marxism. But he is a product of his upbringing and the party cocoon that nurtured him. He believes in the state, and that democracy, like revolution, should be directed from the top.

Nevertheless, the coup ultimately failed because Gorbachev has been the leader of the Soviet Union for almost 6½ years and gave life to his unique policies of *perestroika*, *glasnost* and *demokratizatsiya*. Blair Ruble of the Kennan Institute in Washington suggests Gorbachev's resignation from the party might signal his understanding "that he has to play a totally different role." Latey, Gorbachev foolishly made common cause with the men who tried to overthrow him. But his life and, for the time being, his job were saved by the democratic culture he created. The final irony may be that the democratic tide, swelled and strengthened by its astounding victory last week, may now sweep him away. He has done so much that it may simply be impossible for him to do much more.

—Reported by James Carney

Moscow, J.F.O. McAllister/**Washington** and **Strobe Talbott/Washington**



Symbol of the burial of the communist regime: funeral for those who died during the putsch

In December, Gorbachev had been trying to prevent Baltic secession by winking at the use of force and insisting on drawn-out legal procedures. Now he can hardly order the discredited army or Interior Ministry to hold the Baltic republics by force if they are determined to depart. The union treaty will devolve real power from the center—and Gorbachev. Yeltsin says the coup showed him that Russia will not be safe until it has its own army. He has already created a Russian KGB that is taking over internal security duties. Other republics will do the same, and because they are assuming the power to tax, they can be expected to finance their own security forces first. This will provide less money for the central government and its uniformed services, and the lower income will in turn reduce the importance of the military-industrial complex that has dominated decisions in Moscow.

southern republics that went along with the coup are uninterested in reform.

Officials in Washington and Western Europe make similar observations about Yeltsin. One of them says Yeltsin is "trying to impose at the republic level what he opposes at the national level," that is, centralized control of the vastness of Russia. The residents of Murmansk, the official argues, "don't want Yeltsin any more than Gorbachev telling them what to do." The leaders of other, smaller republics probably feel the same way.

Real Democracy

When the horizon clears after last week's turmoil, one of its most visible consequences will be the insistent question of Gorbachev's lack of democratic legitimacy. The constitutionality of his office was upheld, but not his personal claim to it. Yeltsin emerged as a formi-



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Like the fallen statue of Dzerzhinsky, left, the fate of the KGB hangs in the balance

THE SHAKEOUT

Blunt Sword, Dented Shield

Initially a supporter of *perestroika*, the KGB was traumatized by the coup. Soon it may be dismembered.

By RICHARD LACAYO

The KGB's headquarters on Moscow's Dzerzhinsky Square is one of the most forbidding places in the Soviet imagination. Inside and underneath the area are the interrogation rooms and cells where in past decades thousands of citizens came face to face with state power—and often terror. So it was with some trepidation that a massive crowd advanced into the square in the aftermath of the failed coup—but its nerve soon strengthened. Within hours, thousands cheered as the statue of "Iron Felix" Dzerzhinsky, who founded the secret police immediately after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, was toppled from its central pedestal. It was a symbolic act of purgation—and revenge.

Equally striking was the response from what used to be the most dreaded organization in the Soviet Union. Nothing. In the coup's aftermath, the KGB—it calls itself the Sword and Shield of the Communist Party—showed itself to be as divided and traumatized by the actions of its disgraced chief, Vladimir Kryuchkov, as was another pillar of power, the army. Once the plot had unraveled, the agency released a statement declaring that "KGB servicemen have nothing in common with illegal actions by the group of adventurers." After a bewildering two-day shuffle

of leaders, Vadim Bakatin, a liberal who was Gorbachev's Interior Minister until his dismissal last December, was appointed the KGB's new chief. He is expected to move decisively in cleaning up the agency.

As early as the first day of the coup, TIME Moscow correspondent James Carter got an unmistakable indication of the KGB's ambivalence about the putsch. As he stood interviewing soldiers outside the Moscow Hotel, he was approached by a casually dressed man in his 30s who introduced himself as KGB agent Alexander Maisenko and produced the proper red identification card to prove it. "Not all of my colleagues in the KGB think that what is happening is a good thing," he said. "Putting the army in the streets against the people is wrong."

The KGB's split identity derives from the origins of the Gorbachev era. The President was the handpicked successor of Yuri Andropov, the former Soviet leader who was once the KGB chief. From the outset, the KGB acceded to Gorbachev's programs of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, which were intended to help the Soviet Union catch up to the achievements of the West. During the first three years of *perestroika*, the agency was largely untouched by the changes that were pressing upon other institutions, and strove to promote Gorbachev's goals of improving work discipline, attacking corruption and foster-

ing greater industrial efficiency.

Glasnost came to the KGB under Kryuchkov, who took over as a Gorbachev appointee in late 1988 with the promise of greater openness regarding agency affairs and cooperation with Western intelligence agencies in such areas as drug trafficking and terrorism. But as the winds of *glasnost* blew more strongly, the top echelons of the organization grew nervous. The Old Guard complained that secret files were being opened and covert methods exposed. Kryuchkov reacted harshly when dissident KGB officers sounded off in the press about agency meddling in ethnic conflicts or floated proposals to de-

prive the KGB of its special troops. The biggest threat of all to the organization was contained in the impending union treaty; it would loosen Moscow Center's control of KGB units in the republics and affect sensitive issues like security budgets. By last winter some of the KGB's top officers were in the forefront of a conservative backlash, spearheading a campaign against "economic sabotage" that singled out the developing free-market sector as a special target. Speaking before a secret session of the parliament in June, Kryuchkov lambasted Gorbachev's entire program as a product of the CIA's designs for "pacification and even occupation" of the Soviet Union.

In the view of Western experts, the KGB is now likely to be drastically reorganized and stripped of much of its domestic responsibility. U.S. and British analysts suggest that the agency's overseas spy service, the First Main Directorate (there are nine Main Directorates), will remain. A new organization, along the lines of the U.S.'s FBI, may be formed from the Second Main Directorate (internal security). Such restructuring could mean, among other things, a dramatically smaller agency. American experts estimate the KGB's current size at 600,000 members, 265,000 of them border guards, 230,000 in military units, and 40,000 assigned to domestic surveillance. Foreign intelligence, the elite division, accounts for perhaps 20,000 operatives. The KGB of the future could be a rump organization, its feared sword blunted forever. —Reported by John Kohan/
Moscow and Bruce van Voorst/Washington



On the first day of the coup, the people confront one of the people's soldiers

THE RETREAT

The Silent Guns of August

Though the army held its fire, it faces a leadership shake-up and a further erosion of power and influence

By RICHARD LACAYO

Throughout Soviet history, Kremlin leaders have taken special care to prevent the army from interfering in the nation's internal politics. Yet the new order being established by Mikhail Gorbachev was not the kind that soldiers were accustomed to living with. Pulled out of Afghanistan, shown the door in Eastern Europe, beset by shrinking defense outlays, low pay and ethnic tensions, the army smarted under the changes sweeping the U.S.S.R. For the plotters of the coup, such discontent seemed to make the military a logical—if reluctant—ally. Its armed might made it an essential one.

But when the moment came to strike, Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov was unable to bring his firepower to bear. Gorbachev's drive for reform across all strata of society had left fault lines among the military as well, and the coup rapidly widened them. The air force stood aside altogether, refusing orders to participate. As for the army, the 10 tank crews that defected to Boris Yeltsin symbolized the greater number of soldiers who refused to countenance the violent overthrow of the government. Even troops nominally supporting the junta were reluctant to fight.

The army's trauma is not over. Yazov was arrested and faces trial. His protégé, former Chief of the General Staff Mikhail

Moiseyev, 52, played a role ambiguous enough to let Gorbachev name him acting Defense Minister shortly after the coup's collapse. That decision alarmed those who expected the reinstated President to clean house. Under pressure from Yeltsin, Gorbachev replaced Moiseyev one day later with an unambiguous reformer: Colonel General Yevgeni Shaposhnikov, 49, the commander of the air force who had refused to support the coup.

A deeper purge of conservatives in the military is almost sure to follow. General Valentin Varennikov, the commander of ground forces who reportedly shared in Yazov's plans was arrested; General Boris Gromov, a hero of the Afghan war thought to have been in charge of Interior Ministry forces in the coup, is another likely target. Officers and civilians in the military-industrial complex, which has fought Gorbachev's efforts to convert more defense plants to civilian purposes, can be expected to fall as well. Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, 68, former chief of staff of the Soviet armed forces and top military advisor to Gorbachev, committed suicide on Saturday night, though his link to the plot was not clear.

The new leadership that supplants the Old Guard will have to brace itself for a further restructuring of the army, which has already suffered strains as a result of the changes brought about under Gorbachev. The military's claim on the national budget,

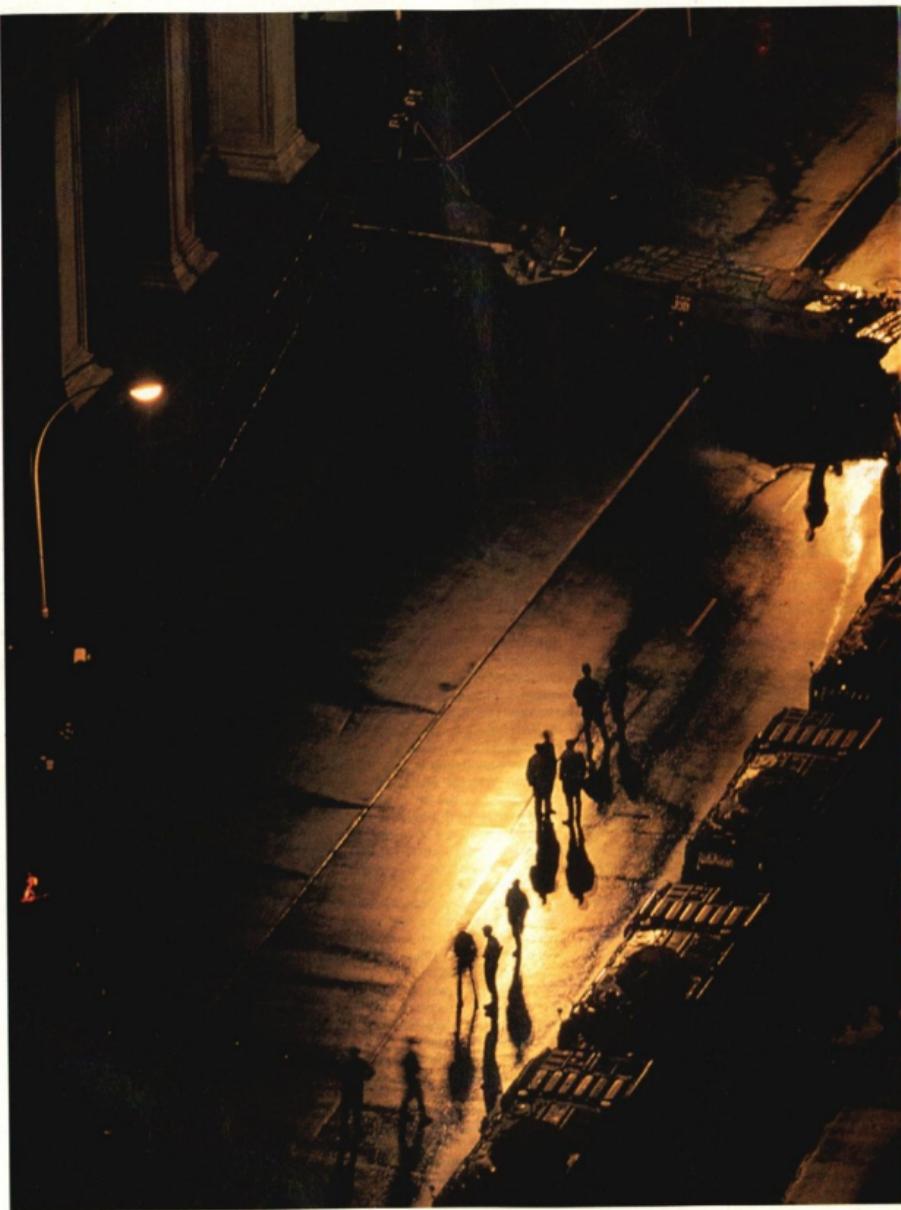
still about one-third of all government spending despite the diminution of East-West tensions, faces additional reduction. Gorbachev has cut military forces by 500,000, to 4 million, but even sharper reductions are likely. The withdrawal from Eastern Europe has sent soldiers home to a severe housing shortage: some 200,000 are still quartered in tents, barracks and makeshift shelters throughout the country.

PHOTOGRAPH BY RICHARD LACAYO

Yet *perestroika* does have its appeal for some resolute segments of the armed forces who could capitalize on the failed coup. The reform-minded *Shchit* (Shield) organization of former officers, which wants to abolish compulsory service in favor of a volunteer, professional army, may get more attention. Middle-ranking officers, especially veterans of the Afghan war, are impatient for a switch from massive conventional forces to the high-tech systems that the U.S. fielded so ably in the Persian Gulf. In their view, a market economy and the dismantling of the defense bureaucracy offer the only hope for modernizing the military.

Hard-liners have tended to be clustered among older officers of colonel's rank and above, but the real dividing line is allegiance to the Communist Party. All top officers belonged to the party, while a network of loyalty officers ensured political orthodoxy throughout the ranks. The coup "wasn't the army as such in revolt," says Stephen Meyer, a Soviet expert at M.I.T. "It was the tired old *nomenklatura*, the party figures in the army." In his first act as defense minister, Shaposhnikov resigned from the party and, on the basis of a decree issued by Yeltsin, ordered its cells banished from the barracks. The generals must also accept firmer control from the Supreme Soviet, whose members have shown growing interest in the defense budget and procurement.

Even the concept of a single army is being questioned. To thwart future coup attempts, Yeltsin and other republic leaders plan to press ahead with plans to form separate armed forces—in effect, republican guard units—that will not be answerable to Moscow's command. That kind of challenge to its dominance of armed power will probably prevent the military from becoming a firm ally of change. The army will not wither away, but it will have to swallow reforms that so troubled some of its generals that they went to the barricades to forestall them. —Reported by James Carney/Moscow and Bruce van Voorst/Washington





The Russian Revolution

POSTMORTEM

Anatomy of A Coup

The dramatic tale of how a handful of party hacks hijacked Soviet democracy—until a popular revolt shattered their ill-hatched plans

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

It might have been the most widely advertised coup in history. Rumors and warnings had begun as early as the summer of 1990. According to British intelligence, elements of the Soviet army and KGB actually rehearsed a coup (under the guise of a countercoup) in February of this year. June brought what was soon called the "constitutional-coup attempt." Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov asked the Supreme Soviet for the authority to issue decrees without Mikhail Gorbachev's knowledge, but was rebuffed. In late July hard-liners published an announcement appealing for "those who recognize the terrible plight into which our country has fallen" to support dramatic action to end disorder. They might as well have put up billboards shouting COUP!

In hindsight, even the timing seems screamingly obvious. Gorbachev had designated Tuesday, Aug. 20, for the ceremonial signing of a new union treaty with the presidents of the Russian and Kazakh republics; other republics were expected to sign later. The treaty would transfer so many powers—over taxes, natural resources, even the state security apparatus—to the republics as to make restoring ironfisted Kremlin control of the whole country impossible. Moreover, a new national Cabinet would have been named by representatives of the republics. Some of the eventual coup leaders, including KGB chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov, Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov and Interior Minister Boris Pugo, would almost certainly have lost their jobs. The plotters could not afford to let that treaty go into effect.

Yet Gorbachev by his own testimony was totally

unprepared. To some scholars and Soviet officials that appears so odd as to suggest that the President himself had staged a Potemkin coup to win domestic and foreign sympathy. But that seems farfetched. More probably, the very volume and intensity of coup talk had dulled his political antennae; the cry of wolf was sounding old and tired. Alexander Yakovlev, a close adviser, claimed after it was all over that he had even given Gorbachev the names of some likely—and, as it turned out actual—plotters. The President, according to Yakovlev, had scoffed that they "lack the courage to stage a coup."

As late as 4 p.m. Sunday, working at his Crimean vacation retreat at Foros on the speech he intended to give at the treaty signing, Gorbachev telephoned Georgi Shakhnazarov, an aide and friend, who was vacationing nearby. They chatted briefly; Shakhnazarov heard nothing to indicate that his boss was in any way troubled. Less than an hour later, however, at 10 minutes to 5, the head of Gorbachev's security guards entered the President's office and, as Gorbachev later recounted the story, announced that "a group of people" was demanding to see him. Who were they, asked Gorbachev, and why had they been let into the house? They were accompanied by Yuri Plekhanov, the chief of the state security-guard organization, said

Gorbachev's man; that was all he knew. Gorbachev picked up a phone to call Moscow. "It didn't work. I lifted the second [phone], the third, the fourth, the fifth. Nothing." All his communications had been cut.

Instantly realizing what might be up, Gorbachev went to another room, called in his wife, daughter and son-in-law and warned them that his visitors might "attempt to arrest me or take me away somewhere."

**The force but
not the will
to crush
resistance:
armored
personnel
carriers line up
in Moscow the
first night of
the putsch.**

Death and fury: Muscovites view pool of blood on street where three protesters were killed in a clash with tanks; Leningraders jam Palace Square to voice their determination to defeat the plotters



Returning to his office, he found that the delegation had already bulled its way in. There were four besides Plekhanov. Gorbachev initially named only one: Valeri Boldin, his own chief of staff. It was as if John Sununu had joined a coup against George Bush. The others were finally identified as Oleg Baklanov, deputy chairman of the National Defense Council and in effect leader of the military-industrial complex; a Communist Party hack named Oleg Shenin; and General Valerii Varennikov. In the name of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency, the visitors demanded that Gorbachev sign a decree proclaiming an emergency and turning over all his powers to Vice President Gennadi Yanayev. Gorbachev's reply: "Go to hell."

By then, a special detachment of KGB troops had surrounded his vacation house. Just in case Gorbachev somehow got out

and tried to return to Moscow, KGB units drove tractors across the runway of the nearby airport to prevent Gorbachev's TU-134 presidential jet from taking off.

Roughly 12 hours passed before the outside world knew anything. But at 6 a.m. Monday, TASS, the Soviet news agency, reported falsely that Gorbachev was ill and had yielded his powers temporarily to Yanayev. An hour later, TASS announced the formation of the eight-member State Committee for the State of Emergency, ostensibly headed by Yanayev. Actually, this gray and ineffectual apparatchik was only a figurehead; the real power probably was held by Kryuchkov, Pugo and Yazov, plus possibly lesser-known figures. Some of Russian republic president Boris Yeltsin's aides later fin-

gered Baklanov as the chief plotter. The committee announced that it would rule by decree for six months, and began setting up some of the machinery of dictatorship. All newspapers except for nine pro-coup sheets were ordered to stop publishing, political parties were suspended and protest demonstrations banned. Muscovites going to work or to shop Monday morning had to maneuver around troops, tanks and armored personnel carriers that were moving to cordon off or seize key installations.

Yet it was obvious even that early that the coup was ill planned and curiously half-hearted. The plotters neglected to carry out that *sine qua non* of successful coups: the immediate arrest of popular potential enemies before they could begin organizing a resistance. In particular, the failure to make sure that Yeltsin was taken into custody (there were some reports that an at-



tempt at an arrest was made, but botched) was fatal. Inexplicably, the putschists did not even pull the plug on the communications of anyone except Gorbachev. Bush and other foreign leaders were amazed at how easily they could get through by telephone to Yeltsin; he in turn seems to have had no difficulty coordinating action with other coup opponents across the country.

Most successful coup organizers also begin by moving reliable troops into key positions. Yet U.S. intelligence analysts, poring early Monday over satellite pictures taken during the previous two days, detected no evidence of any unusual troop movements. The Soviet plotters used troops and equipment that happened to be on hand in Moscow and other cities, and gave the soldiers only the vaguest idea of what they were supposed to be doing. In Moscow some seemed to think they were par-

ticipating in an odd sort of parade or drill.

Far from being prepared to crush opposition, the troops were obviously under orders to avoid confrontation if possible and above all not to shoot. Citizens shouted "Fascist!" or worse at the troops, scrawled swastikas in the dirt on tanks parked outside the Russian Parliament Building, climbed aboard armored personnel carriers to argue with the commanders and urge them to turn back—all with impunity. When the coup leaders decreed a curfew from 11 p.m. to 5 a.m., the soldiers made no attempt to enforce it.

In Leningrad troops based inside the city stayed in their barracks throughout the coup. Armored assault units headquartered nearby at one point started moving on the old czarist capital, but reformist Mayor Anatoli Sobchak—another leader the coup conspirators foolishly left at large—per-

suaded the tankmen to halt outside the city.

Why were the coup plotters so inept and halfhearted? Simple incompetence might be one answer; several were party or government hacks who had never displayed much imagination or initiative. They may have thought that the economic collapse that had made Gorbachev wildly unpopular, coupled with a long Russian tradition of submissiveness to authority, would win the populace to their side without any need for bloodshed. They may even have been corrupted, so to speak, by the new atmosphere of democracy and legalism—at least to the extent of feeling a need to give their coup a cloak of constitutionalism, which in turn prevented them from acting with the ruthlessness a successful coup generally requires. Alternatively, some American officials think the plotters were not so much inept as unable to round up enough support

to flaunt any more muscle than they did.

There were many indications that an early and decisive use of force might have carried the day. According to British sources, heads of government and foreign ministers of the major Western powers had agreed during a long series of very secret talks on a coordinated policy to oppose any Soviet coup attempt. But though all of them condemned the coup, some initially hinted that they might eventually live with it. On Monday morning Bush asserted that "coups can fail" but at the same time voiced hope that Yanayev too might turn out to be a reformer. French President François Mitterrand on Monday night treated the coup as a fait accompli.

Within the U.S.S.R. many powerful figures who wound up opposing the coup were initially non-committal, stayed conspicuously out of sight or played highly ambiguous roles. Alexander Dzasokhov, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, tried to paint the party as a resolute opponent of the conspirators. "From the very beginning of the coup," he said, the committee secretariat "kept trying to get in touch with the state Emergency Committee and demanded that they see Gorbachev." In fact, though, Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, says the Central Committee on Monday secretly urged local party organizations to support the junta.

Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh came down with a vaguely defined illness, one of several seeming cases of "coup flu." (Symptoms: cold feet and a weakening of the backbone.) After initially cabling Soviet ambassadors around the world to put a "good face" on the coup, Bessmertnykh climbed out of his sickbed to denounce the plot only after it was falling apart—too late, as it turned out, to keep from getting fired. General Mikhail Moiseyev, Chief of the Soviet General Staff, was perhaps conveniently on vacation in the Crimea when the coup began. But some of his subordinates claimed he wrote out the orders for the troops to occupy key points in Moscow—as well as the orders for them to go back to their barracks when the coup was palpably failing.

Even the indomitable Yeltsin reportedly had a moment of irresolution. On Monday morning he hurried to the Russian republic headquarters—nicknamed the White House because of its marble facade—and was quickly joined by other coup opponents. One of them, former Soviet Interior Minister Vadim Bakhatin, says they urged Yeltsin to proclaim himself in command of all army and KGB units on Russian republic soil. Bakhatin recounts that Yeltsin was reluctant; he feared that such an order would split the army and perhaps start a bloody civil war. Bakhatin and others, however, convinced Yeltsin that if

THE BALTS

Aug. 19 Massive military movements in the area begin, including naval blockades. Soviet troops seize communication centers and other key buildings in the republics' capitals.
Aug. 20-21 Estonia and Latvia

declare immediate independence. Clashes occur outside the Latvian and Lithuanian parliaments; one man is killed in Lithuania. After the coup's collapse, the Soviet troops begin their withdrawal and finally abandon all

institutions they had seized, some of them occupied since January.
Aug. 22-23 In Lithuania and Latvia, the parliaments outlaw the Communist Party. In Estonia and Lithuania, statues of Lenin are torn down.

LENINGRAD

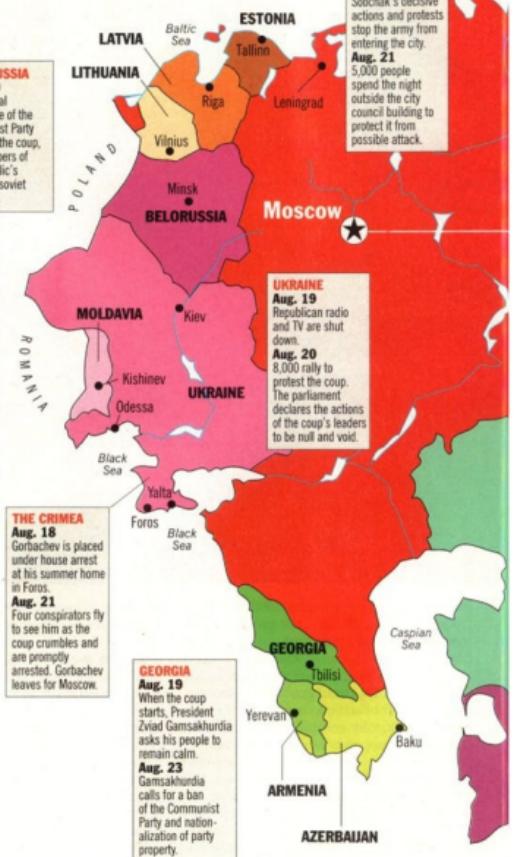
Aug. 19 Anatol Sobchak, mayor of Leningrad, immediately proclaims the coup unconstitutional, and calls on the population to rush to the defense of the city council. Thousands protest the coup outside the Winter Palace. Sobchak's decisive actions and protests stop the army from entering the city.
Aug. 21 5,000 people spend the night outside the city council building to protect it from possible attack.

BELORUSSIA

Aug. 20 The central committee of the Communist Party supports the coup, but members of the republic's supreme soviet oppose it.

MOLDAVIA

Aug. 20 Mass anticoup demonstrations take place in Kishinev. Prime Minister Valeriu Muravski bans the nine newspapers sanctioned by the coup.
Aug. 23 Republic adopts resolution outlawing Communist Party activities.

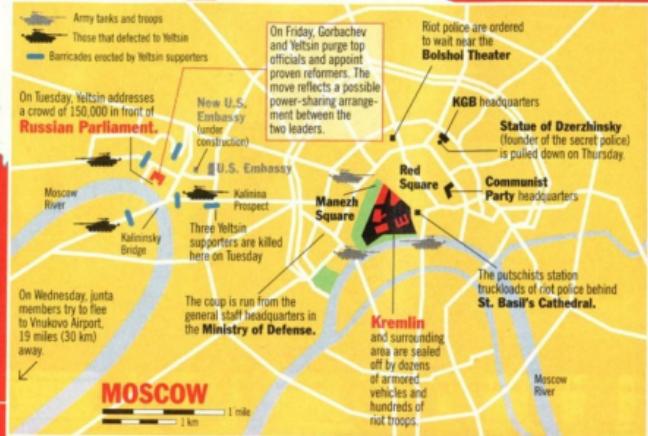


THE CRIMEA

Aug. 18 Gorbachev is placed under house arrest at his summer home in Foros.
Aug. 21 Four conspirators fly to see him as the coup crumbles and are promptly arrested. Gorbachev leaves for Moscow.

GEORGIA

Aug. 19 When the coup starts, President Zviad Gamsakhurdia asks his people to remain calm.
Aug. 23 Gamsakhurdia calls for a ban of the Communist Party and nationalization of party property.



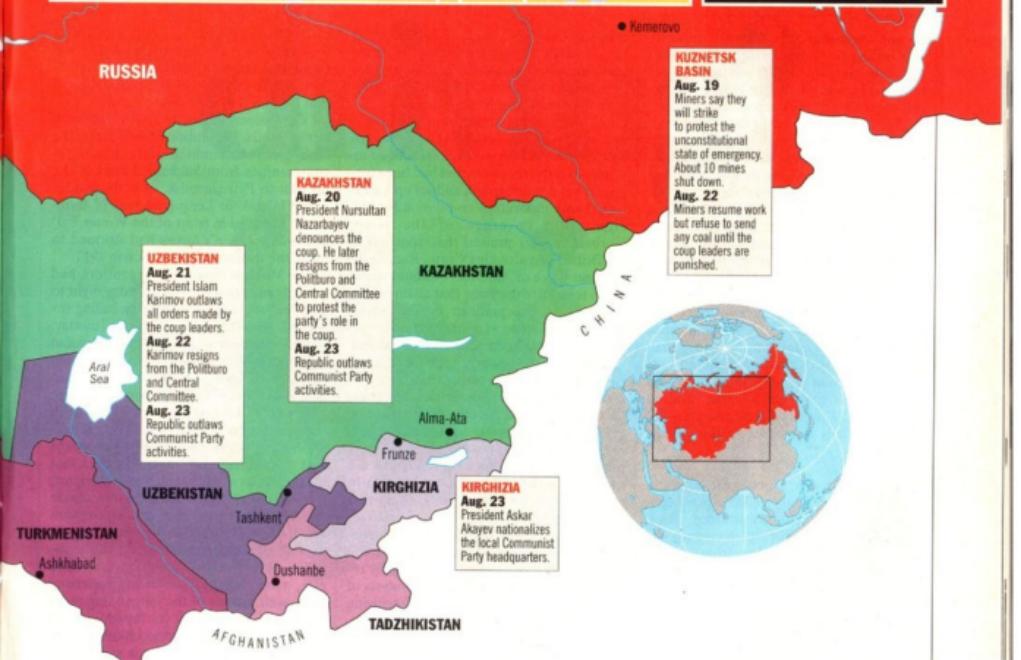
THE ARMY

On Aug. 19, two élite armored divisions, the Tamanskaya and the Kantemirovskaya, and one airborne division, the Tulskaya, are moved into Moscow. Of those, the Tulskaya division and a tank detachment of the Tamanskaya division side with Yeltsin.

When the putschists realize that troops are defecting, they decide to send in the élite KGB airborne Vitelskaya division. The units of that division, however, halt some 12 miles (19 km) from the Russian Parliament and never enter the city.

Three special KGB battalions and two special-purpose battalions of the military intelligence service are deployed in the capital as well.

More than 300 men from the police schools in Bryansk, Orel and Vladimir side with the Russian government, rushing to Moscow to defend the parliament building.





Rare casualty of a nearly bloodless coup: an injured soldier atop a tank that tried to crash a Moscow street barrier

FILIP HORVAT—SAFETY

The Russian Revolution

no one exercising constitutional authority was willing to countermand orders from the junta, the army might eventually if reluctantly invade the White House and arrest them all, and the coup would succeed.

From then on, Yeltsin never wavered. At 12:30 p.m. Monday he clambered atop an armored truck outside the White House to announce the decree assuming command. He denounced the coup as illegal and unconstitutional and called for a general strike to thwart it. In retrospect, that was the first and perhaps the biggest turning point. Yeltsin had made it obvious that the coup would face determined resistance; his appearance helped inspire protest demonstrations throughout the country. At the time, however, its significance was not entirely apparent. No more than about 200 Muscovites had gathered outside the Russian republic building to see and hear his fiery performance. But as word spread, the crowd grew and grew until it eventually numbered in the tens of thousands.

At 5 p.m. Monday the conspirators finally called a press conference to introduce themselves. Their performance was a disaster. Far from coming across as a take-charge group, they appeared nervous and half apologetic. They gave a preposterous excuse for assuming authority (Gorbachev was too tired and ill to retain command); stressed that the coup was a constitutional devolution of authority to Yanayev, although it clearly was not; and proclaimed a highly dubious devotion to

continued reform. Junta member Vasili Starodubtsev sniffed continually, and Yanayev seemed twitchy. As Gorbachev later commented, "They said I was sick, but they were the ones whose hands were shaking."

Gorbachev apparently was watching if not watching. His security guards stayed with him at the Forus dacha, scrounged up some old radio receivers that had been forgotten but not discarded, and set up a jury-rigged antenna so they could monitor foreign radio coverage of the coup. Gorbachev later praised the reporting of the British Broadcasting Corp., Radio Liberty and Voice of America—with seeming to recognize the irony that all three networks had been jammed by the Soviet government not so very long ago. Though he said he had been subjected to intense "psychological pressure," this apparently consisted of isolation rather than any actual interference with his activities. The President spent part of his time drafting an angry condemnation of the coup, and was so incensed at the reports of his illness that he made four videotapes of himself (he did not say how he got hold of a camera) to prove he was not sick at all. Fearing that the worst might happen to him, he also recorded his last will and testament. Gorbachev's wife Raisa was apparently quite shaken by the experience. She was later reported to have suffered some paralysis of her left hand and was said to be receiving medical treatment.

In the outside world, the tide was beginning to turn. By Tuesday morning the Western powers had got their act together and unanimously, though separately, pro-

claimed a clear line: no normal relations with the Soviet Union until legitimate authority was restored, and a quick and immediate cutoff of most of the economic that of the U.S.S.R. desperately needs.

Coal miners in Siberia and the far left their pits. Resolutions condemning Emergency Committee were passed by communities from Sakhalin Island in far east to Petrozavodsk, near the border with Finland. In Leningrad tens of thousands gathered in front of the Winter Palace, which Lenin's forces had stormed in 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

In Moscow resistance organizations fanned out across the city Monday night, post leaflets in subway stations calling a mass demonstration at noon Tuesday. From a second-floor balcony of the Russian republic building, speaker after speaker a throng of up to 150,000 Muscovites chanted of "We will win!" Shouted Yeltsin: "We will hold out as long as we have to remove this junta from power." Bush phoned on Tuesday morning to encourage that determination by making it clear the putschists would get no foreign support.

Tuesday afternoon brought one last indication that the junta was losing its grip it had established. After obediently reporting all the pronouncements of the Emergency Committee and, in addition, TASS suddenly began interspersing them with reports of the burgeoning resistance. For example, it let Soviet citizens know that Aleksei II, Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church and a signer of December appeal for a law-and-order crackdown, had come out against the

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Hansell Vineyards, Ltd.
Heitz Wine Cellars
Henry Estate Winery
Hogue Cellars
Honig Cellars
Jekel Vineyards
Jepson Vineyards
John Christ Winery
Johnson Turnbull Vineyards
Joseph Phelps Vineyards
Kent Rasmussen Winery
Kenwood Vineyards
Konociti Winery
L. Mawby Vineyards
La Crema Winery
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Livermore Valley Winegrowers
Llano Estacado Winery, Inc.
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Madrona Vineyards
Mark West Vineyards & Winery
Matanzas Creek Winery
McDowell Cellars, Inc.
Meridian Winery
Mesa Vineyard Management
Monterey Peninsula Winery
Mount Eden Vineyards
Mount Palomar Winery
Mountain View Vintners
Oak Knoll Winery
Palmer Vineyards
Paramount Distillers
Panducci Wine Cellars
Ravenswood Winery
Reinhardt Vineyards
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Ridge Vineyards
Rosé Valley Winery
Round Hill Winery
S. Anderson Vineyard
Ste. Chapelle, Inc.
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Salamandre Wine Cellars
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Sanford Winery
Santino Wines
Schug Cellars
Sebastiani Vineyards
Sequoia Grove Vineyards
Shenandoah Vineyards
Shuster Cellars
Silverado Vineyards
Silver Falls Winery, Inc.
Silver Oak Wine Cellars
Simi Winery
Smith & Hook Winery
Smoot's Oak Shadow Vineyard
Spottswoode Winery, Inc.
St. Supery Vineyards & Winery
Stag's Leap Wine Cellars
Stevenson Winery
Storybook Mountain Vineyards
Streblow Vineyards
Sutter Home Winery, Inc.
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Tomsello Winery
Trefethen Vineyards
V. Sattui Winery, Inc.
Valley View Winery
Vichon Winery
Wente Bros.
William Wheeler Winery
Wöllersheim Winery, Inc.
Zaca Mesa Winery
ZD Wines

The Russian Revolution

Tension nonetheless built toward a climax Tuesday night. It was obvious that the junta could no longer prevail unless it began using deadly force, starting with an armed assault on Yeltsin's White House. All afternoon and evening, loudspeakers blared warnings that tanks were rolling toward the building and 60 planes filled with paratroopers were preparing for an airborne assault. Thousands of people worked through the night, building barricades to deter an attack, supplemented by human chains of unarmed protesters. At the foot of the main staircase, an organizer with a megaphone called, "All courageous men who are willing to defend the building, please come forward!" About 90 men—the forerunners of many, many more—formed up in three rows on the stairs. An Orthodox priest in full regalia read the Lord's Prayer to them.

Just before midnight, short bursts of gunfire did echo from nearby streets. It was not, however, the start of an assault but a confused scuffle between tanks and protesters around a trolleybus barricade. Three demonstrators were left dead—the only casualties in Moscow of the coup.

Otherwise, nothing happened. During the daylight hours Tuesday, Ruslan Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the supreme soviet of the Russian Federation and a close Yeltsin adviser, was on the phone to KGB chief Kryuchkov and Defense Minister Yarov. He asked them point-blank if the junta planned to storm the White House. "Yarov did not deny it," he reported. Late Tuesday night and again Wednesday morning, Gennadi Burbulis, another Yeltsin aide, spoke twice more with Kryuchkov. Finally Kryuchkov promised, "You can sleep soundly." There would be no shoot-out.

Why not? Reports within the Soviet Union and from Western intelligence sources differed in detail, but agreed in essence: the armed forces would not carry out any order to attack. One story was that senior army commanders had met secretly Tuesday night and decided they would not storm the White House or countenance any firing at civilians.

Some troops sent to menace the Russian republic headquarters turned to defending it instead. By agreement with Yeltsin, Major General Alexander Lebed, a commander of airborne troops, on Tuesday afternoon ordered the tanks and armored personnel carriers from his Tula division parked around the building to turn their turrets around so that they could not fire at Yeltsin's headquarters; no ammunition was distributed to the vehicles' crews. In effect, the tanks and APCs became part of the barricades protecting the building. Some American officials believe that the junta did intend to storm the building but Lebed's virtual defection derailed its plans. Another version, not necessarily contradictory, was that Colonel General Gennadi Shaposhnikov,

commander of the Soviet air force, and Lieutenant General Pavel Grachev, chief of the airborne troops, flatly refused to order an attack on the White House. That story gained credence at week's end when Shaposhnikov was appointed Defense Minister, with Grachev his chief deputy.

Wednesday morning there was a seemingly ominous flurry of military activity. Soviet troops in Lithuania and Estonia took control of several radio and TV stations; in Moscow paratroopers shut down an independent radio station that had resumed broadcasting the day before. But those actions quickly turned out to be the plotters' last gasp. The failure to storm the White House on Tuesday made clear that the junta would not or could not resort to

the serious bloodshed that by then would have been necessary to crush resistance. By Wednesday the plotters evidently concluded that the jig was up, and the coup fell apart with astonishing speed.

At 2:15 p.m., Yeltsin announced to the Russian parliament that some of the conspirators were running to Vnukovo Airport to get out of town. A delegation headed by Yeltsin's vice president, Alexander Rutskoi, chased after them to arrest them. One hour earlier, TASS announced that the Defense Ministry had ordered all troops to clear out of Moscow, and this order was happily obeyed. Bystanders cheered as soldiers, some waving prerevolutionary Russian flags, rode atop armored vehicles on their way back to bases. The order to clear

WHERE WAS THE BLACK BOX?

One of the most chilling aspects of last week's coup attempt is that—for 76 hours—the Soviet Union's top-secret nuclear release codes were in the hands of men later denounced as "adventurists" by Mikhail Gorbachev. According to the *Washington Post*, a member of the Russian delegation that accompanied Gorbachev back to Moscow said the men who put the Soviet President under house arrest in his Crimean dacha also seized the "black box" (actually a briefcase) containing the codes. Could the coup leaders have launched or threatened a nuclear attack? Or was the Soviet deterrent effectively paralyzed for three days?

The answers are not entirely clear. Under the Soviet command-and-control structure, the decision to launch any of the country's estimated 27,000 nuclear warheads cannot be made by a single individual. U.S. experts say Moscow's strategic nuclear "button" is in reality a two-part system, in which the Minister of Defense controls one half and the President the other. If Gorbachev's codes had wound up in the hands of Defense Minister Dmitri Yarov, a member of the junta, he would theoretically have had the wherewithal to order the missiles to be launched. But the codes are no more than a release authority, and the actual firing would still have required the cooperation of many people.

Even if it had been physically possible for the junta to launch strategic weapons, it would have done them no good in putting down internal resistance: the missiles are aimed at foreign targets, and there would have been no time to reprogram them. Had the junta tried to use tactical or battlefield nukes, they would probably have faced the same internal military resistance that kept Soviet



Artist's conception of a Soviet SS-25 missile

tanks from moving against Boris Yeltsin. As it turned out, President Bush later told reporters gathered at his vacation home in Kennebunkport, Me., that U.S. intelligence detected no signals or movements indicating "a nuclear threat of any kind" during the interregnum. By Wednesday, the infernal briefcase was back in Gorbachev's safekeeping, and the world could breathe a little easier.

The Russian Revolution

ASSOCIATED PRESS



Looking drawn but relieved—like the freed hostage he is—Gorbachev arrives back in Moscow at the end of the ordeal

mind behind the whole plot. Hard on their heels, Rutskoi and his avengers also took off for the Crimea—taking care to bring guns.

Possibly Kryuchkov and Yazov hoped to negotiate with Gorbachev an end to the coup that would preserve some of their power. Or maybe they simply intended to beg for forgiveness and leniency. Rutskoi and his friends, however, feared they might want to kill the Soviet President. The thought that some of the plotters might try to execute him in a last attempt to save the coup occurred to Gorbachev as well. One of his first calls on Wednesday was to the chief of his personal guard at the Kremlin, working out arrangements to guarantee his safety on a return to Moscow.

When Kryuchkov and Yazov arrived at his dacha, Gorbachev refused to see them; he demanded that they be arrested (Lukyanov was not arrested but was suspended from his job pending an investigation). Rutskoi and his gun-toting party, who got to the dacha shortly after, were delighted to do that job. They frisked both Kryuchkov and Yazov; Kryuchkov offered no resistance, but the Defense Minister grumbled (neither was armed). Even then Rutskoi and his companions were worried that other plotters might try something. "We told the airport to prepare two planes to mislead the scoundrels," Rutskoi later said on Soviet television.

All this took so long that Gorbachev did not get back to Moscow until 2:15 a.m. Thursday. Stepping off the plane, he looked haggard and drawn but flashed a relieved smile, rather like the released hostage that he was. In theory, at least, he was back in full command. In fact, he faced gigantic tasks of rounding up the plotters, alleviating the economic and social chaos that had given the excuse for the coup, and working out a modus vivendi with Yeltsin. As for the surviving plotters, all of whom had been arrested by week's end, they were facing not only treason trials but also the knowledge that their mismanaged coup had intensified the move toward democracy and decentralization they had tried to stop. The three days that shook the world were over.

—Reported by James Carney and Ann M. Simmons/Moscow and Bruce van Voorst/Washington

out, in fact, came from Gorbachev. For two days he had demanded that his captors let him phone Moscow again and supply a plane so that he could return to the capital; his requests were ignored. But on Wednesday he was suddenly allowed to use the phone once more. He called General Moiseyev, who by then was back in Moscow, and Moiseyev passed on the order to the Defense Ministry.

After two days of isolation, Gorbachev was suddenly again besieged by visitors from Moscow, this time competing for his favor. How many conspirators tried to flee the capital on Wednesday is still not entirely clear. Pugo, for example, was originally

rumored to be aboard a plane headed for Central Asia, but in fact was soon admitted to a Moscow hospital with gunshot wounds, apparently self-inflicted, from which he died. Kryuchkov and Yazov, however, did get to Vnukovo Airport ahead of their pursuers from Yeltsin's headquarters, and hopped a plane for Gorbachev's resort. They were accompanied by Anatoli Lukyanov, chairman of the Soviet parliament. Though he is an old friend and law-school classmate of Gorbachev's, Lukyanov played at best an ambiguous role in the coup; he was not a member of the Emergency Committee but has been accused by some of Yeltsin's aides of being the master-

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The Russian Revolution



The President in Kennebunkport: he kept the lines open and got his message across

THE WHITE HOUSE

Let's Stay in Touch

How Yeltsin persuaded George Bush to speak out strongly—if a bit belatedly—against the plotters

By MICHAEL DUFFY KENNEBUNKPORT

George Bush realized he might be inadvertently backing the wrong horse in the Soviet power struggle when the text of a one-page letter from Boris Yeltsin reached him as he flew from Maine to Washington aboard Air Force One. Bravely resisting the coup against long odds, Yeltsin implored Bush to bring "the attention of the world and the United Nations" to bear on Moscow and "demand the restoration" of President Mikhail Gorbachev. Yeltsin added what for Bush are magic words, asking for "operational contacts." Translation: "Give me a call."

Yeltsin penned his plea after Bush had delivered his first tentative remarks about the intentions of the coup plotters Monday morning. Bush had carefully—and, it later seemed, prophetically—suggested that the putsch might fizzle. "Coups can fail," said Bush. "They can take over at first, and then they run up against the will of the people."

But if Bush had left one light on for the people, he had left another light on for their new masters. Because previous Soviet crackdowns had rarely failed, he was reluctant to bet against, much less condemn, the junta. Bush also needed to maintain civil relations in order to do business with a new regime later on. Moreover, American offi-

cials couldn't be sure that Gorbachev really wasn't sick.

Bush's unshakable faith in the power of personal diplomacy dictated conciliation. Like his tepid initial responses to the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Tiananmen Square massacre, the President's first instincts stemmed not so much from what he insists are guiding "principles" as from a deep fear of change and a desire to do business with a single and authoritative head of state. Bush has often said in the past, "The enemy is instability."

Perhaps because he wasn't sure with whom he might next deal, Bush sounded a hopeful note that morning about Gennadi Yanayev, Gorbachev's handpicked Vice President and the coup's titular leader. Yanayev, as it happened, had joined Bush as a guest on board Air Force One when the President flew from Moscow to Kiev during his summit trip just 18 days earlier. "My gut instinct," Bush said, "was that he has a certain commitment to reform." Bush also took care to describe the coup as "extraconstitutional," fearing that "unconstitutional" was too strong and might offend the plotters.

Hearing of Bush's remarks from his command center in the Russian Parliament Building, Yeltsin ordered his foreign minister to deliver a letter for Bush to the top U.S. diplomat in Moscow. Deputy

chief of mission Jim Collins picked up the missive himself and cabled it to Washington. From there, Robert Gates, Deputy National Security Adviser, relayed it to Brent Scowcroft, who read it aboard Air Force One and informed Bush of its contents.

The White House immediately began to retreat from Bush's earlier ambivalent remarks and voice support for Yeltsin. Scowcroft spoke with reporters in midair, criticizing Yanayev and describing the coup as "quite negative." After arriving at the White House, Bush sat in on a meeting of the deputies committee, a group of senior officials who were monitoring the situation and were by then beginning to uncover the plotters' mistakes. Several members of the group had begun to describe the coup as "half-assed."

After the session, Bush issued a second public statement. This time he fully backed Yeltsin and condemned the coup, which he now described as "unconstitutional." The statement also used language drawn verbatim from Yeltsin's letter, calling for "the reaffirmation of the post of U.S.S.R. President M.S. Gorbachev." Explained an official: "It was diplomacy through the media. This was a clear signal from us to Yeltsin." That night Bush told aides, "This may be the first time that a coup fails in the Soviet Union."

By 7:15 Tuesday morning, Bush was in his small West Wing study, tapping out an eight-point "to do" list on his personal computer. Most important was item No. 3: "Keep in touch with Boris Yeltsin." Bush put that one into effect within the hour, assuring the besieged Russian president by telephone of Washington's support. A day later, the two men spoke again, and Bush asked if it would be "helpful" to speak out again on the protesters' behalf. Yeltsin's reply: "Yes! Yes! Yes!" Later that night, Yeltsin called once more to announce that Gorbachev was safely back in Moscow and that Bush repeatedly for his help.

Bush didn't get through to Gorbachev until Wednesday noon, when the two men had an emotional 12-minute conversation. Careful not to gloat, Bush appeared before reporters for the second time in three hours, wearing a solemn face and explaining in a guarded voice that the coup had failed. The reason, Bush added, was that the plotters had underestimated the people's devotion to democracy. True enough, but as an Administration official admitted, "So did we, at least for the first 12 hours or so."

With reporting by Dan Goodgame/
Kennebunkport

What the West Can Do

Still split over aid to Moscow, the major powers now must decide how to handle Yeltsin and the republics

By JAMES WALSH

Though it was mercifully short-lived, the specter of a totalitarian regime in Moscow and a revival of the cold war badly frightened the world's major industrial powers. The nightmare evaporated quickly, but it left the wealthy democracies facing an urgent question: What were the best ways to help ensure that the Soviet Union was never again hijacked by hard-liners?

Shoring up Moscow's economy was clearly the first priority, but there was no unanimity on how to do that. The fault line of debate ran just north of the Bonn-Paris axis. Leaders of Germany and France, with Italy chiming in, rebuked what they called the stinginess toward *perestroika* evinced in last month's London summit of the Group of Seven leading industrial powers. The Germans, whose \$35 billion in commitments to Moscow surpasses all other sources of Soviet aid put together, were horrified by the crisis that had threatened to blow up in their faces. An unusually blunt Chancellor Helmut Kohl told his allies, "The dumbest possible policy now would be for us to sit back as international onlookers and say, 'So, what are they doing in Moscow?'"

On the other side, policy-makers in the U.S., Britain, Canada and the Netherlands remained convinced that throwing money at Gorbachev was no cure for his country's crippling economic ills. Without major structural changes, said Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, even generous cash and credits were destined to end up "like a drop of water on a hot stove."

But the debate in its wider dimensions was not so clear-cut. Other key issues gripping the West and Japan included Soviet compliance with arms reductions, the security of Eastern Europe's newborn democracies, and the plight of the Baltic republics. Overarching those quandaries was the question of who in the U.S.S.R. was now the worthier negotiating partner: a diminished Gorbachev or leaders of the newly muscular, more reform-driven republics—especially the Russian president and hero of the hour, Boris Yeltsin.

Though George Bush praised Yel-

tsin's "tremendous courage" and "superb" defiance, the U.S. President and other allied leaders shied away from the legal minefield they would face in bypassing the Kremlin's sovereign authority. Said Stephen Meyer, an M.I.T. political science professor who is a sometime Bush adviser: "I would not allow bilateral relations with the republics any more than I would allow the Japanese to set up inde-



Food, yes; money—maybe: U.S. soybeans bound for the U.S.S.R.

pendent diplomatic relations with Massachusetts, New York and Connecticut."

As a morale booster, the White House was inclined to give reformers at least some economic reward. But if Gorbachev is to preserve his role as the leader of *perestroika*, a Bush Administration official warned, "he's going to have to move and move pretty quickly." Would greater trade, aid and investment—pegged to concrete Soviet reforms—make a difference? Most analysts remained profoundly skeptical. Meyer stressed that "there are no financial institutions in the Soviet Union capable of absorbing in a useful way large amounts of aid, at either the Union level or the republic level." Outside of German loans, Western and Japanese pledges of help to date, far from being enough to finance restruc-

turing, fall short of making up for Moscow's foreign-exchange deficit.

Addressing arms cuts, an emergency NATO meeting in Brussels last week demanded that the Soviet military honor all treaties and cease violations and evasions of last year's Europe-wide agreement on troop and conventional-arms rollbacks. Japanese opinion makers, meanwhile, were hoping to extend the arms-reduction process to Asia by sweetening Tokyo's aid offers to Moscow. Said University of Tokyo professor Haruki Wada: "I think there is a feeling among our people now that *perestroika* is of the first importance."

The new front-line Central European democracies, meanwhile, argued with some trepidation that bringing them under the Western wing was of the highest importance. The European Community seemed to agree, offering to step up negotiations toward admitting Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary as associate members.

But the big question was whether Soviet reformers would wind up feeling defeated and demoralized by hard economic realities. Italy proposed admitting the U.S.S.R. immediately as a full member of the International Monetary Fund. But Washington, which had been poised to award Moscow most-favored-nation trade status, was debating whether it might make that move contingent upon the Kremlin's prompt fulfillment of power sharing and other reforms. The issue, as experts saw it, was academic since the Soviets produce virtually no exports they could sell in the U.S. now.

Whatever is done to help the Soviets, no one was expecting a rapid cure for the nation's profound malaise. Predicted a top Bush Administration analyst: "In the short run, things will probably get worse." A senior White House official wondered if devolution of power would result in real market freedoms or just "central control by [each of] the 15 republics." He added: "I'm not sure even the reformers understand the difference."

With technical advice and encouragement from the West, the republics may yet harness their new spirit of nationalism and develop a true market system. In that event, Bush's judgment on the prospects for Baltic independence may turn out to have a broader application. Asked if the Kremlin had seen the light on the Baltics, the President replied, "Well, I think some of the people who saw the darkness are no longer around." *Reported by Dan Goodgame/Kennebunkport and Priscilla Painton/New York, with other bureaus*

THE ORIGINS

Prelude to a Putsch

At first, Gorbachev tried to lick the conservatives by joining them, but that strategy led him, and the U.S.S.R., to the brink of the abyss

By STROBE TALBOTT WASHINGTON

For years, as they watched Mikhail Gorbachev bulldoze his way through history, remaking his country, his era and himself, Soviets and Westerners alike wondered whether there was anything he couldn't do. Wasn't there some innovation so radical, or some capitulation so abject, that he simply couldn't get away with it? Like scientists pondering the limits of an anomalous but potent force of nature, Kremlinologists speculated about the existence of a "red line" that Gorbachev could not cross without reaping the whirlwind.

Could he really introduce genuine democratic choice in Soviet elections, terrifying and infuriating apparatchiks from one end of the U.S.S.R. to the other? Did he dare abandon the Communist Party's monopoly on political power? Could the system tolerate a free press? Could the Soviet people stand to hear the truth about their own past? Could they adjust to some version of free-market economics?

And what about the Soviet empire? Could Gorbachev unilaterally end the decade-long occupation of Afghanistan? Could he pull the plug on Soviet support for the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and pressure them into elections they would lose? More crucially, could he permit "frater-

nal" regimes to topple in Eastern Europe, giving up the buffer zone that Joseph Stalin had created after World War II and retiring the Warsaw Pact?

The answer, he kept demonstrating to the astonishment of all and the dismay of many, was yes.

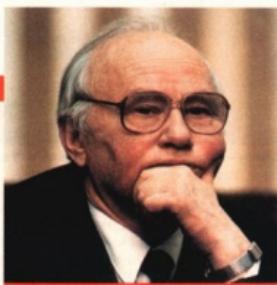
Many experts thought, if a red line existed, it ran along the 860-mile boundary of barbed wire, concrete and minefields between East and West Germany. Surely Gorbachev could not let the people of what used to be the German Democratic Republic defect en masse to the Federal Republic, taking their whole country with them. And even if he dared let something so unthinkable happen, he couldn't possibly accept the membership of a united Germany in NATO.

Yet, once again, he did all that, and more. In his attempt to break the ministries' stranglehold on the economy, Gorbachev made decentralization one of the cornerstones of *perestroika*. Under the slogan of *demokratizatsiya*, he created conditions around the country for popular local leaders, frequently outspoken nationalists, to defeat Moscow's minions. As a result of

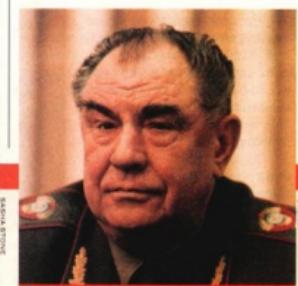
glasnost, the Kremlin faced up to some of the uglier truths of Soviet history, including the illegality of Stalin's annexation of the three Baltic republics.

Most important, by dismantling the Ministry of Fear, Gorbachev made it possible for people to voice their grievances against "the center" and their desire for self-determination.

Throughout 1990, Gorbachev's initiatives and their consequences, intended and otherwise, began to call into question whether the Soviet Union could survive in anything like its existing form. Gorbachev's daredevil act was veering toward a new red line: the 39,000-mile border around the periphery of the U.S.S.R. Ideology, economics, foreign policy, military alliances, they were one thing; real estate was something else. Could Gorbachev actually give up what many of his colleagues in the leadership and the Soviet power structure considered to be pieces of the motherland?



Vladimir Kryuchkov



Dmitri Yazov

Dancing with Wolves

These are people I have trusted," Mikhail Gorbachev declared apologetically last week. "They have turned out to be not only the participants against the President [but also] against the Constitution, against the people, against democracy. It was my mistake." There was little else Gorbachev could offer in defense of the glaring fact that most members of the *vosmyorka*—the conservative "Gang of Eight" who made up the State Committee for the State of Emergency—owed their high positions to him. The same was true of their powerful accomplices. In the wake of the failed coup, all of the surviving "gang" was under arrest. What remained was the mystery of Gorbachev's faith in them.

Appointed KGB chairman by Gorbachev in 1988, Kryuchkov made efforts to burnish the organization's image. Gorbachev explained last week that he appreciated Kryuchkov's "certain level of cultural erudition, the ability to conduct dialogue." But the liberalism was largely tactical. He insisted after his arrest, "I don't think I have done anything in my life that my motherland can hold against me."

Opposed by Supreme Soviet deputies, Yazov won reappointment as Defense Minister in 1989 only with the help of Gorbachev, who was impressed by the general's level-headedness and his support for strict military professionalism. The stony-faced World War II veteran backed the call for the restructuring of society. But he also attacked *glasnost* for allowing civilians to criticize the army.

For three days last week, the answer seemed to be no. By the beginning of this year, it was clear that if Gorbachev's policies continued, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania would eventually leave the U.S.S.R. and re-establish their independence. Gorbachev repeatedly said he accepted "in principle" the Baltics' right to independence. He was always quick to add his insistence that the leaders in those republics pursue their goal by "constitutional means." Everyone knew what that phrase meant: a slow process during which the central government would try to control both the throttle and the brake.

In Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, nationalists indignantly rejected the notion that they should play by the Kremlin's rigged rules. But in Moscow, Gorbachev's apparent willingness to accept even the idea of Baltic freedom further antagonized the hard-liners and set in motion the chain of events that led to last week's coup d'état.

At first Gorbachev and the reactionaries tried to co-opt each other. One of Gorbachev's aides, fluent in the earthy idiom of American politics, paraphrases a favorite line of Lyndon Johnson's: "Mikhail Sergeyevich felt it was better to have the camels inside the tent pissing out than outside the tent pissing in. He wanted to keep them where he could see them and where they would have to take his orders. He also wanted to use them to put pressure on the Balts." That arrangement was fine with the reactionaries, since they had considerable latitude in how to interpret and execute Gorbachev's orders.

Gorbachev met frequently with Boris Pugo, who had become Interior Minister on Dec. 2, 1990. In these conversations Pugo was careful to steer clear of the fundamental issue of whether the Baltic republics were entitled to independence. Instead he stayed within

the bounds of his responsibility for law and order. With the Baltics acting as though they were already sovereign states, he said, the situation was "spinning out of control"; if the Baltics succeeded in defying Moscow, other republics would be encouraged to do the same.

Pugo was a Latvian who had been the KGB chief in Riga in the early '80s. He knew that Gorbachev believed all nationalities in the U.S.S.R. should be united by Soviet patriotism. In his conversations with Gorbachev he evoked this sentiment repeatedly, in effect offering himself as an example of a good Balt as opposed to ungrateful, unreasoning troublemakers like Vytautas Landsbergis, the brave but reckless president of Lithuania.

Pugo simultaneously played to Gorbachev's own Russianness by warning that the many ethnic Russians who lived in the Baltics were subject to harassment and perhaps even persecution at the hands of local nationalists. Choosing his words carefully, Pugo asked for, and received, authority to take "the measures necessary to assure that constitutional norms are upheld and the rights of minorities are respected."

On Jan. 11, something called the "National Salvation Committee of Lithuania" announced its existence, presumably to replace the government of President Landsbergis with quislings. Soviet troops advanced on the republic's main television station. People poured into the streets and surrounded both that building and the parliament. Outside, citizens kept vigil into the night.

In the early hours of Sunday morning, Jan. 13, Soviet units attacked the television tower. The various assaults left 15 civilians dead, three of them mangled by tanks, and

several hundred wounded. Appearing on Soviet television, Pugo charged that the Lithuanians had started the fight by "flashing bayonets" at members of the National Salvation Committee, who had no choice but to appeal for outside help. This accusation was particularly ludicrous, since the demonstrators were unarmed and no member of the committee had yet to show his face or reveal his name. On Jan. 20, a similar clash in Riga left five dead.

In the midst of this crisis, Boris Yeltsin traveled to Estonia, where he signed a "mutual support pact" with all three Baltic governments. He also urged troops from the Russian Federation stationed in the Baltics not to obey any "order to act against legally created state bodies, against the peaceful civilian population that is defending its democratic achievements."

Back in Moscow, Gorbachev was in a state of impotent fury. On the one hand, he was apoplectic with rage at Yeltsin, calling him, at one point, "That son of a bitch!" Some of Gorbachev's advisers winced when he talked this way, since he sounded like Henry II asking, in his exasperation at Thomas à Becket, "Who will free me from this turbulent priest?"

Fear quickly spread in Moscow that Gorbachev's reactionary tentacles might behave less like incontinent camels and more like attack dogs that had received a hand signal from their master. There was an anonymous threat to blow up a plane on which Yeltsin was scheduled to travel. Several ministers in the Russian Federation increased their bodyguards, started carrying sidearms, and sent their families to dachas in the country—as though that would put them out of harm's way if the KGB decided to round them up.

At the same time, however, Gorbachev was convinced, in the words of a close aide, that the massacres in

Responding to complaints early last year that a liberal Interior Ministry had led to public disorder, Gorbachev appointed the hard-nosed Pugo as the country's top cop. Pugo's pedigree—he is the son of a prominent Latvian communist—combined with his devotion to the Soviet Union helped elevate him in Gorbachev's eyes as the ideal citizen, untainted by ethnic animosity. His methods, however, seem to have been as nefarious as those of some of his predecessors. A former Latvian KGB chief, Pugo may have instigated violence in the Baltic republics in an attempt to force a crackdown by Moscow. After the coup's failure, he and his wife apparently attempted a double suicide. His wife survived.



Boris Pugo

Gennadi Yanayev

PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

The quintessentially malleable apparatchik, Yanayev became Vice President only after two excruciating rounds of votes in the Congress of People's Deputies—and tremendous lobbying by Gorbachev. A sop to the Communist bureaucracy that created him, Yanayev nevertheless obediently parroted reformist policies—though observers noted that his heart was not in the performance. He proved equally unconvincing at projecting strength. Journalists at the junta's press conference laughed out loud at his lame answers and at his trembling hands. Said Gorbachev last week: "I see that the Congress was right when they did not accept the Vice President in the first round."

Vilnius and Riga were a "provocation" against him personally, "an attempt by reactionary forces to derail the process of reform." He publicly denied responsibility for the decision to send in the tanks and issued a new order forbidding the military to make further all-out attacks on civilians.

In retrospect, the conflagration in the Baltics bears an eerie similarity to what happened last week in Moscow: hard-liners attempted a coup d'état and found themselves faced with an unexpected show of people power as well as the personal courage of Yeltsin; a popular, democratic leadership survived, albeit under siege, while Soviet armored troops milled around menacingly on the streets.

The halfhearted and inept spasm of official violence in Lithuania and Latvia was a preview of last week's drama in Moscow in another respect too: instead of being the beginning of the end—the final, decisive crackdown that so many had long feared might be coming—it was a standoff between the forces of the center and of secession, the forces of repression and of continuing reform. It was also an enactment of the conflict going on within Gorbachev himself.

Gorbachev was appalled at the bloodshed in the Baltics and devastated by the criticism that rained down on him at home and abroad. When he met with a group of international peace activists, instead of radiating his usual sense of command, he all but threw himself on the mercy of his visitors. He promised he was still committed to making the U.S.S.R. a "law-based society." He portrayed himself as a victim of tumultuous events and historical currents, compared himself to a voyager who was "out of sight of land."

He was, he remarked, feeling seasick.

The episode further damaged him politically. By allowing Pugo and the military to use violence, Gorbachev caused many of the democrats and nationalists to give up on him. Yet by not allowing the hard-liners to finish what they had started on Bloody Sunday in Vilnius, he alienated them as well. He still commanded the middle ground between right and left, but his position was becoming increasingly lonely and precarious.

Meanwhile, there was a war in the Persian Gulf, and Gorbachev had reason to fear that he might end up among the losers. During the last five months of 1990, largely under the influence of Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet Union had sided with the U.S.—and most of the rest of the world—in demanding that Saddam Hussein withdraw his army of occupation from Kuwait. For reformers like Shevardnadze, Saddam was a grotesque example of the kind of Third World thug whom the Kremlin had too often supported over the decades. One of Yeltsin's closest deputies, the foreign minister of the Russian Federation, Andrei Kozyrev, called Saddam "the child of our totalitarianism, who was nurtured under the care of our ideology and with the help of huge arms shipments."

At the other end of the political spectrum, Soviet reactionaries regarded Saddam as the victim not only of American bullying but also of Soviet betrayal. They saw Soviet votes in favor of the U.S.-backed resolutions in the United Nations as a symbol of a willingness to surrender Moscow's global influence and accept subservience to Washington. After Shevardnadze's resignation in December, hard-liners in the Party Central Committee and the military pressured Gorbachev to name as the new Foreign Minister a professional bureaucrat rather than a relatively independent, personally pow-

erful figure in the Shevardnadze mold. Gorbachev obliged them by picking Alexander Bessmertnykh, a career diplomat.

However, just as Bessmertnykh took office, the coalition launched the air war against Iraq. An English-speaking Soviet major interpreted for a group of senior officers from the General Staff who had assembled in the Defense Ministry to watch the televised daily briefings from the Pentagon and coalition headquarters in Riyadh. Most of Iraq's antiaircraft batteries were made in the U.S.S.R. and manned by personnel trained by Soviet advisers. Yet the coalition's fighter-bombers and cruise missiles achieved perfect surprise, then set about to clobber Iraq with near impunity for six weeks. There was much cursing and gnashing of teeth among the Soviet officers glued to the tube in Moscow.

For them, the ground war was even worse. As the Iraqi army collapsed, a number of senior military officers told Gorbachev they feared that the U.S.-led forces would march to Baghdad and arrest Saddam just as Uncle Sam had done a little over a year before with Manuel Noriega in Panama. That, said one general, would be "an unacceptable blow to our prestige."

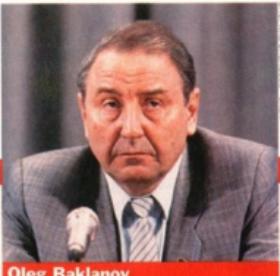
In one Kremlin session, a top official of the Defense Ministry predicted that U.S. forces would "stay in the gulf region indefinitely," constituting a "new threat" to Soviet security. In effect, and perhaps in intent as well, he continued, the U.S. was taking advantage of the end of the cold war by moving its heaviest concentration of manpower and firepower from Europe to the soft underbelly of the U.S.S.R.

Thus the gulf war made the military more receptive than it might otherwise have been to appeals by reactionary elements in the Communist Party, the KGB and the government bureaucracy that they should all make common cause against Gorbachev.

By mid-spring, the hard-liners were feel-

VIRE/STANISLAV GAVRILOV

VIRE/STANISLAV GAVRILOV



Oleg Baklanov

A weapons expert, the Ukrainian bureaucrat is not only first deputy on the shadowy but influential Soviet Defense Council but is also an important member of the nation's powerful military-industrial complex, a sector of the economy threatened by Gorbachev's reforms. Two other members of the gang of eight—Vasili Starodubtsev, an advocate of collective farming, and Alexander Tityakov—were among the 12 conservative signatories of an open letter in July recommending a military takeover.



Valentin Pavlov

As Prime Minister, Pavlov was openly critical of Gorbachev's policies. The President, however, believed he could safely ignore the economist's rhetoric. Any Pavlovian clout had to emanate from the Supreme Soviet, whose powers would be sapped by the union treaty. Nicknamed "Porky the Hedgehog," Pavlov was widely unpopular. As the coup faltered, he checked into a hospital suffering from "hypertension."

ing confident and assertive. Vladimir Kryuchkov, the chairman of the KGB, relished repeating to anyone who would listen the charge that the CIA had been covertly trying to destabilize Soviet society. The unmistakable implication was that advocates of radical reform were dupes, if not agents, of sinister foreign forces. In a meeting with Westerners in March, Kryuchkov stressed that there were still "fundamentally conflicting interests" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in a wide variety of areas around the world. He was making clear how little use he had for the Gorbachev slogans of "new thinking" and "mutual security." Kryuchkov also complained bitterly about "our eagerness to take historical shortcuts"—a thinly veiled reference to the program of radical reform—and warned that "democracy is no substitute for law-and-order."

There were still a few reformers at Gorbachev's side, such as Anatoli Chernyaev, the President's personal foreign policy adviser, and Georgi Shakhnazarov, one of the principal architects of the liberation of Eastern Europe. But both of them confided to friends that they were deeply worried. In a wry parody of Marxist-Leninist jargon, Shakhnazarov commented, "I fear perhaps the correlation of forces is turning against us."

Of the original Gorbachev loyalists and brain trusters, only Alexander Yakovlev still seemed to have much fight in him. Asked in March why he had been left off the newly created Kremlin Security Council, he replied, "It's very simple, and it doesn't bother me in the least. President Gorbachev had to accommodate our reactionaries. A certain amount of maneuvering is inevitable. But it's maneuvering on the path of the same objectives—reform and democracy."

On March 17 citizens throughout the

U.S.S.R. went to the polls to vote on a Kremlin-sponsored referendum on the future of the country. While the wording was vague, the stakes were clear: a positive vote would be taken as a mandate for Gorbachev to continue the process of redefining the relationship between the center and the republics according to his own timetable, his own political instincts and his own sense of what compromises were required with the conservatives. A negative vote might be an expression of support for Yeltsin, who has favored accelerated reform. Yeltsin had by now established himself not only as the leader of the Russian Federation but also as the principal spokesman for the eight other republics that were willing to remain autonomous (or "sovereign") members of a loose Soviet commonwealth and as the champion of the six republics—the three Baltics, Moldavia, Armenia and Georgia—that wanted complete independence.

The referendum resulted in something close to a draw. But the effect was to strengthen Yeltsin's position. A number of Gorbachev's aides, including his Vice President, Gennadi Yanayev, stepped up their efforts at engineering a rapprochement between the Kremlin and the Russian Federation headquarters, known as the White House. "Gorbachev can take a step toward Yeltsin," said Yanayev shortly after the referendum. "Actually, he has no choice but to do so."

Meanwhile followers of Yeltsin announced that they would hold a rally in central Moscow on March 28. In a meeting at Gorbachev's office, Pugo conjured up the specter of "neo-Bolsheviks storming the Kremlin." The rally was a direct challenge to Gorbachev's personal authority, said Pugo. Gorbachev agreed to prohibit all rallies and

to back up the ban with a show of force by bringing troops and tanks into the capital.

Yakovlev tried several times to dissuade Gorbachev from this course. Rather than intimidating the democratic opposition, he warned, a showdown would confirm the widespread suspicion that Gorbachev had, in his desperation, thrown in his lot with the reactionaries. And even if disaster was avoided, a decision to pit the military muscle of the center against peaceful demonstrators would backfire against Gorbachev, strengthening Yeltsin's popular base.

This time, unlike during the Baltic crisis in January, Gorbachev took personal control of the forces amassed in the side streets around Red Square. He kept them in check, and the huge, orderly demonstration came off without serious incident.

Yakovlev commented immediately afterward that even though he was relieved Gorbachev had made sure the troops held their fire, the attempted intimidation of Yeltsin's followers was Gorbachev's gravest mistake to date. Gorbachev may have jeopardized not only his chance to make common cause with Yeltsin, said Yakovlev, but perhaps "his place in history" as well.

Gorbachev too was shaken by how narrowly disaster had been averted. For the second time, he had taken the advice of Pugo, Kryuchkov and the hard-liners—and for the second time he had seen that their methods would have led only to blood in the streets.

"March 28 was not just a turning point—it was the turning point for Mikail Sergeyevich,"

says one of his aides. "He went to the abyss, looked over the edge, was horrified by what he saw, and backed away." In so doing, Gorbachev moved closer toward a new and fateful alliance with Yeltsin and the democrats. ■



Anatoli Lukyanov

An old schoolmate and close friend of Gorbachev's, Lukyanov had recently assumed the role of the Soviet leader's conservative doppelganger—and likely successor. As Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, he had used his power to delay liberal legislation, going so far as to turn off the mikes of some Deputies to keep them from being heard. In the early hours of the coup, he reportedly gave the plotters support by claiming that Gorbachev approved of their takeover. Others charge that he was the brains behind the putsch.



Valeri Boldin

Aside from the actions of the *vosmyorka*, Boldin's betrayal was perhaps the most shocking to Gorbachev. The ethnic Russian had been a close aide since 1981, when Gorbachev was a rising star. At Gorbachev's ascension to power, the Soviet leader handpicked Boldin to join his inner circle. Though known to favor conservative policies, Boldin had enough of Gorbachev's trust to be named chief of staff, in charge of his agenda and his appointments. He became the President's Judas.

RISING STAR

The Man Who Rules Russia

Can Boris Yeltsin translate his populism into the kind of democratic leadership that his republic craves, or is he destined to rule by demagogic decree?



State of siege: the embattled republic president inside the Russian Parliament Building

By DAVID AIKMAN WASHINGTON

The dramatic rhetoric, the bold, often impulsive political gestures, the sometimes imperious style: as Boris Yeltsin has grown larger upon the political stage, the world has grown more familiar with his outsize personality, including his glaring character flaws and his impressive personal and political strengths. Yet there are transforming moments in a leader's life when his actions change forever the way he views himself or the way the world views him. Last week Yeltsin stood on such a pinnacle. All the qualities that made him one of the most fascinating and problematic political figures in the age of Gorbachev were recast in the form of Russia's man of

destiny. Yeltsin's view of himself may not have changed, but the world discovered a giant.

Yeltsin has at various times been dismissed, both in the Kremlin and in the West, as a buffoon, an opportunist, a would-be autocrat wrapped in a populist mantle. His judgment has often been questioned—along with his sobriety. Cynical speculation has abounded about his conversion to democratic principles. His assertiveness and impulsiveness have always exasperated more conventional politicians like Gorbachev, who viewed Yeltsin for years with wariness and distrust.

Yet whatever his detractors and enemies said, Yeltsin's extraordinary political career time and again has demonstrated

that he had one thing they lacked: an intimate relationship with the Russian masses. "Yeltsin rises on a turret and around him there are no ghosts of past Kremlin rulers, but real Russians, not yet vanished," observed the poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Yeltsin, unlike his peers in the Kremlin, has experienced a mercurial rise based on shaking off the past and embracing the radical opportunities of the uncertain present.

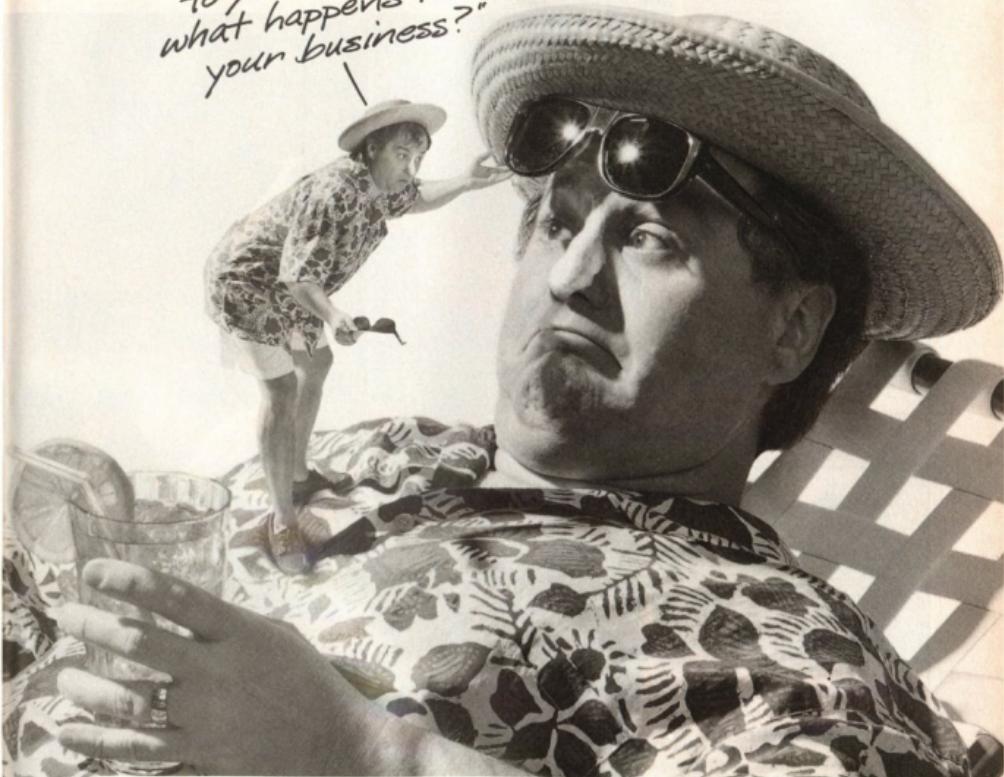
Like all men and women who survive and flourish in public life, Yeltsin has evolved and matured, changing from an ambitious technocrat to an energetic, near bullying party boss to an impassioned if erratic reformer. Born in 1931 in Sverdlovsk province in the Ural Mountains, he grew up in a family so poor that all six members slept on the floor of a one-room apartment with a goat. His childhood was, he has written, "a fairly joyless time." He was always, he later recalled, "a little bit of a hooligan." When he was 11, he lost the thumb and forefinger of his left hand after he and a pair of chums stole two hand grenades from a warehouse; as they tinkered with the weapons, one exploded. He was expelled from grade school for denouncing a sadistic teacher. Yeltsin stubbornly pursued the battle, and the teacher was eventually fired.

Trained as an engineer, Yeltsin waited until he was 30 before joining the Communist Party. By 1985 he had carved out a regional reputation as the reform-minded first secretary of the Sverdlovsk district central committee; it was enough to bring him to the attention of another reformer from the hinterland, the newly installed Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev soon appointed Yeltsin first secretary of the Moscow city party committee. Thereupon the tall, bulky technocrat seemed to settle into a sort of permanent guerrilla war with his superiors in the Politburo and with his often corrupt underlings throughout the city's rambling bureaucracy.

In the Politburo he chafed openly at Gorbachev's go-along committee style, as the new leader maneuvered to consolidate power. He began to rock the boat loudly, with sulfurous speeches that argued for rooting out corruption and injustice. In Moscow he rode the subway and workers' grimy commuter buses, barged into stores to ask why there was no meat for sale, fired hundreds of incompetents from the city's

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payroll and arrested hundreds of others for corruption. Embarrassed by Yeltsin's increasingly critical tone, Gorbachev in late 1987 forced him out of the Politburo and humiliated him at a closed plenum of the Moscow party committee, after Yeltsin had made an impassioned plea for greater democracy. On Moscow streets the news of his downfall was greeted with something akin to mourning.

Lesser souls might have languished indefinitely in the deputy ministerial sinecure that Gorbachev tossed Yeltsin's way as a consolation prize. But Yeltsin nursed himself back to both political and physical health and bided his time. During the 15 months he spent in the wilderness, he built up a coterie of devoted friends and followers who have supported him in all his political ventures since then. His closest administrative and political assistant, Lev Sukhanov, who has been with him since those dark days, flew personally to the Crimea last week to accompany Gorbachev back to Moscow.

Partly because of his clashes with the party apparat, Yeltsin became known as a maverick while running the Moscow party committee: he was outspoken, impetuous and disdainful of authority. He took on the entire machine in 1989 to run as Moscow's delegate-at-large for the Congress of People's Deputies. The contest was the first nationwide multicandidate parliamentary election in the Soviet Union since 1918, and Yeltsin's combative campaign won him the support of 89% of Moscow's 6 million voters, an astonishing accolade from the usually cynical and apathetic populace.

He faced a more skeptical audience in the Congress of People's Deputies. It was not until late in 1989 that Moscow's reformers became convinced that Yeltsin had undergone a genuine conversion to democracy. What persuaded the small pro-democratic interregional group in the Congress of People's Deputies was Yeltsin's willingness to work with younger and far more radical deputies and learn from them about issues he had never been familiar with, like economic privatization and the Baltics' case for independence. "Despite his age, he is teachable," says Galina Starovoitova, a senior Soviet and Russian national legislator and a longtime ally of the late Andrei Sakharov. "He has a skill at listening to people."

But not everybody else was yet persuaded. During a quirky, rushed trip to the U.S. in September 1989, when he first met George Bush, Yeltsin had to recover from a botched public appearance at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. He had been drinking during the night and surprised his hosts the next day with his spirited, prankish behavior. His early reputation in the circles of the U.S. foreign policy establishment as a lightweight stemmed from an encounter with National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft on the same trip.

Yeltsin seemed at first unaware of who Scowcroft was: he was determined to meet Bush, the Russian insisted. Not surprisingly, "senior Administration official" comments on Yeltsin thereafter were coldly dismissive.

That was followed last June, however, by Yeltsin's great triumph, his successful campaign for the Russian presidency. In the process he was transformed again into a publicly impassioned nationalist who

no intellectual ambitions, nor is he self-consciously "cultured."

Yeltsin's taste for raw political combat has surely been whetted by his stunning success last week. It is an important and to some extent worrisome question whether he will be able to control his triumphalist instincts in the days and weeks ahead. Now more than ever, the contrast between his personality and Gorbachev's may be the issue. Where Gorbachev is sophisticated and



FACETS of a mercurial politician: celebrating his 1991 election as president of the Russian Federation; above, appearing the worse for wear at the notorious 1989 press conference at Johns Hopkins University; with President Bush in Washington earlier this year



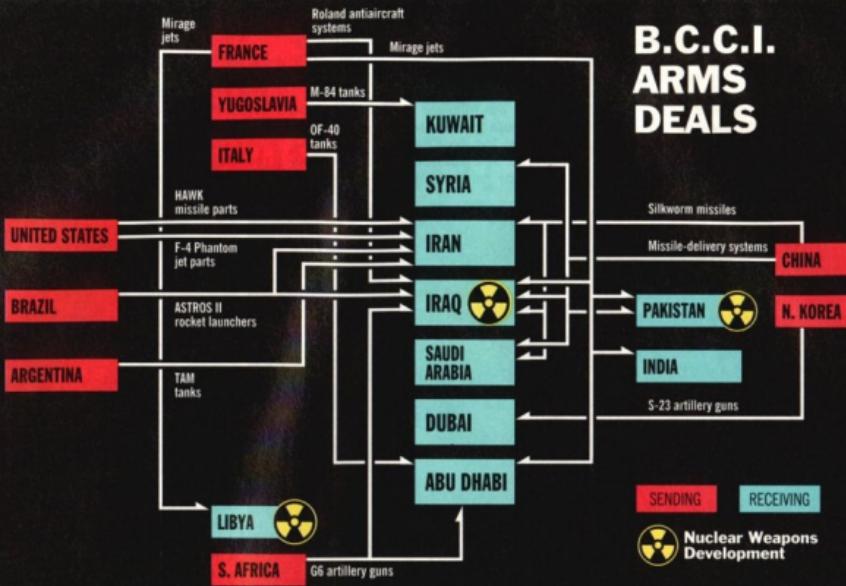
called his country "sick," demanded a new union treaty and castigated Gorbachev for half measures on political and economic reform. Through it all, his judgments were not always sound. He dismayed many admirers last February, for example, by bluntly calling for Gorbachev's resignation on national television.

Unlike the high-profile Gorbachev and Raisa, Yeltsin leads a reclusive home life. His wife Anastasia rarely appears in public. The couple have two daughters, two granddaughters and one grandson, also named Boris. Yeltsin plays tennis at least once a week and is an avowed admirer of the works of the anticommunist Nobel laureate Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, as well as the traditional classics: Pushkin, Lermontov, Turgenev. Again unlike Gorbachev, he has

quick on his feet, Yeltsin speaks bluntly and seems uncomfortable with cut-and-thrust discussions. Where Yeltsin likes face-to-face airing of differences, Gorbachev seems to detest confrontation. Most important, the two men differ profoundly on political philosophy: Gorbachev is the stubborn adherent to socialism, Yeltsin the burning convert to democracy.

"If Gorbachev didn't have a Yeltsin, he would have to invent him," Yeltsin wrote wryly in his 1990 autobiography, *Against the Grain*. The question now is, If Gorbachev is not there, against what opponent will Yeltsin seek to match himself? Against the Soviet bureaucracy? Against George Bush? Or, like a latter-day Peter the Great, against the recalcitrant, politically inexperienced Russian people? ■

B.C.C.I. ARMS DEALS



TIME Chart by Steve Korn and Roger Holmes

Business

SCANDALS

Not Just a Bank

You can get anything you want through B.C.C.I.—guns, planes, even nuclear-weapons technology

By JONATHAN BEATY and S.C. GWYNNE

"We were representing a joint venture and chasing a sale of military equipment to the Belgian government. We had gone pretty far down the line when suddenly B.C.C.I. showed up, representing the Italians. I was staying at the Hilton in Brussels, and I got a phone call from a B.C.C.I. guy asking me to come down to the lobby. When I go down, there's a B.C.C.I. guy, Pakistani, and next to him is this 220-lb. French guy named André—the kind of guy who stuffs people in car trunks. They have business cards with a B.C.C.I. logo. So André says, 'You're getting out of this thing. This is our deal.' Then the other B.C.C.I. guy says, 'You're out, and go and tell your client you're out.' They scared the hell out of me. B.C.C.I. had two func-

tions, as bagmen and as thugs. They pushed the competition out."

Bagmen, thugs, arms deals and B.C.C.I. Common ingredients, it turns out, in the murky world of international arms sales, where experiences like that of the American dealer quoted above are common fare. While prosecutors and auditors from governments and regulatory bodies continue their scramble to unravel the role of the Bank of Credit & Commerce International in the world's first truly global financial scandal, TIME has learned that what looked like a bank was in fact a multipurpose, multinational enterprise. In the past two decades, the organization created by Pakistani financier Agha Hasan Abedi has become,

among other things, a powerful player in the netherworld of international arms. Using the clandestine routes and alliances originally created for money laundering, B.C.C.I. has brokered, financed and, in some instances, initiated transactions that have often upset the uneasy technomilitary balance sought by the U.S. and other major powers engaging in government-to-government sales.

Many of the B.C.C.I.-brokered arms deals are perfectly legal, involving shipments of conventional weapons—rocket launchers, tanks and even sophisticated jet fighters such as the Mirage 2000. But many more are not. Moreover, government sources, former B.C.C.I. bankers, and arms merchants doing business through B.C.C.I. have described the bank's more sinister

role in providing nuclear-weapons technology for Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Libya—nations widely believed to be pursuing development of the so-called Islamic bomb to counter the nuclear force they assume Israel possesses. According to these sources, B.C.C.I. has also been busy providing Pakistan and other customers throughout the Middle East with the capacity to deliver such weapons.

Though the discovery of irregularities led to the shutdown of B.C.C.I.'s banking operations last July, Abedi's \$20 billion "bank" is in fact far more complex. It is a vast, stateless, multinational corporation that deploys its own intelligence agency, complete with a paramilitary wing and enforcement units, known collectively as the "black network." It maintains its own diplomatic relations with foreign countries through bank "protocol officers" who use seemingly limitless amounts of cash to pursue Abedi's goals. B.C.C.I. trades massively and for its own account in commodities ranging from grain, rice, cement and coffee to timber, carpets and anchovies. It is a force to be reckoned with in international oil markets and, through its intertwined relationship with the Gokal brothers' shipping interests, is a shipping conglomerate as well. Taken altogether, B.C.C.I. commands virtual self-sufficiency as a purveyor of goods around the world.

Through its practiced use of false documentation, the deployment of billions of dollars in unbooked letters of credit, and clandestine arrangements with compliant government officials in numerous countries, B.C.C.I. was ideally positioned for its role as arms marketer to the world, particularly the Middle East. Though its tracks are often difficult to detect, TIME has discovered B.C.C.I.'s fingerprints on a startling array of transactions. Among them:

- The victorious allied march into Kuwait City in the wake of Desert Storm was spearheaded by a contingent of returning Kuwaitis. Few if any noticed, however, that the Kuwaitis were riding atop Yugoslavian M-84 battle tanks—upgraded versions of the Soviets' workhorse T-72—complete with East European backup personnel. Sixty-four such tanks and crews had been purchased, financed and supplied to the Desert Storm coalition forces by B.C.C.I.
- An ongoing project in Abu Dhabi to develop a standoff land-attack missile system for the emirate's fleet of Mirage 2000s is being financed by B.C.C.I.
- Recently B.C.C.I. brokered the sale of

OF-40 Mark 2 main battle tanks—also to Abu Dhabi—from Italian arms manufacturer Oto Melara. B.C.C.I. later obtained and financed a dozen S-23 180-mm artillery guns from North Korea for Dubai.

► In the past three years B.C.C.I. has brokered and financed the sale of Astros II battlefield multiple-rocket launchers from Brazil to both Iran and Iraq. The enterprise has also sold Chinese Silkworm missiles to both countries. A spokesman for Avibrás Indústria, maker of the Astros rocket system, concedes sales to Iraq but denies any sales to Iran or any deals involving B.C.C.I. A spokesman also allows that the company received "insignificant" financing from the Brazilian B.C.C.I. bank that was used for "domestic purposes."

► B.C.C.I. arranged for the sale of Argentine TAM battle tanks to Iran in 1989, arms sources report. Argentina's Defense Min-

French company that produces the Mirage jet fighter. According to Arif Durrani, a B.C.C.I.-financed Pakistani arms dealer now doing time in a U.S. federal prison for illegally providing Hawk antiaircraft missile parts to Iran during the Iran-contra era, one of the biggest Mirage dealers in the world is a Pakistani multimillionaire named Asaf Ali. "Just as Ghaith Pharaon fronts for B.C.C.I. to purchase banks and businesses, Asaf is B.C.C.I.'s man in the weapons business," says Durrani, who financed many of his weapons deals through B.C.C.I. offices in London and New York City. While Durrani has made a number of other claims that have been contested by the Justice Department, another well-placed source confirms that Asaf Ali is backed financially by B.C.C.I. in his worldwide deals and that he brokers Mirages, including some top-of-the-line Mirage 2000s

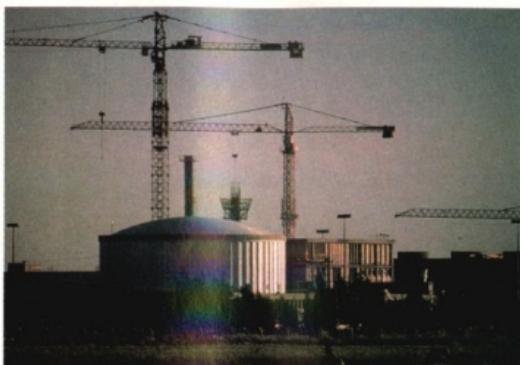
that were sold to Iraq, Libya and Abu Dhabi, among other countries.

In a recent deal, Asaf, displaying the political dexterity of a superpower, brokered the sale of 49 Mirage 2000s to India and then, to maintain parity, provided Pakistan with a similar number of new and used Mirages. To fill the Pakistani order, investigators looking at the deal say, he rerouted nearly two dozen Mirages, yet to be paid for, originally brokered through B.C.C.I. to Peru. A political scandal enveloping B.C.C.I. in Peru focuses in part on the financial transac-

tions in the on-again-off-again Mirage deal. But last week a Dassault spokesman, François Prigent, briskly dismissed any responsibility. "The shipment to Peru is the business of Peru; what happens to planes after we make a delivery is up to them." The firm also denied connections to B.C.C.I. ("Banks are chosen by clients, not by us") and to Asaf Ali ("We don't know that man").

But arms merchants interviewed in several countries say otherwise. "Asaf Ali has been an important Dassault agent for years, and everyone knows that," says a French businessman who has worked on arms deals in Pakistan.

The arrest last month of a retired Pakistani general brought into sharp focus B.C.C.I.'s role in selling nuclear secrets. General Inam ul-Haq, who was arrested in Germany, has been sought since 1987 by U.S. authorities in connection with the purchase of nuclear weapons-grade steel for Pakistan's bomb-development program. The Justice Department says that B.C.C.I. was Inam's financier, and the U.S.



With the assistance of B.C.C.I., Iraq reached for the nuclear bomb

istry denies that any tanks were ever sold to Iran.

► B.C.C.I. supplied Iraq with French-made Roland antiaircraft missile systems and with G-6 mobile artillery units from South Africa.

B.C.C.I. did more than finance or broker arms deals between nations that couldn't risk exposure of politically embarrassing relationships. Arms dealers from Europe and the Middle East, as well as a high-level operative from B.C.C.I.'s Karachi-based black network, have separately provided TIME with nearly identical descriptions of some of B.C.C.I.'s elaborate services for the sale of conventional weapons. "They could handle everything," says one of those sources. "Brokering, financing, letters of credit, false end-user certificates, shopping, spare parts, training and even personnel. You could order a bomb, a plane to deliver it and somebody to drop it."

With that kind of muscle, B.C.C.I. was able to secure substantial business from one of the world's pre-eminent makers of military aircraft, Dassault Aviation, the

Business

is seeking his extradition. The alarm has spread to other branches of the U.S. government. In a recent letter to Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, Senate Governmental Affairs Committee chairman John Glenn, a Democrat from Ohio, expressed concern that "B.C.C.I. has been providing financial services to agents of the Pakistani government for the illicit purchase of nuclear weapon-related commodities in the United States and in other nations." Glenn urged Thornburgh to pursue "a full examination of such activities."

"B.C.C.I. is functioning as the owners' representatives for Pakistan's nuclear-bomb project," says an international businessman who has worked through the bank to supply Pakistan's nuclear-weapons and missile industry. "In the West, Abedi presented one face, but in the Muslim world, he and his bankers have always promoted

as missile-delivery systems for Pakistan, Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, including a B.C.C.I.-brokered sale of midrange ballistic missiles to the Saudis in 1988. By way of explanation, they cite B.C.C.I.'s close banking relations with China, where \$400 million in assets were frozen after the bank's offices were shut down in July. Abedi's bank had been the first Western-style bank allowed to operate on the communist mainland, in part because of Abedi's early support of CFTIC, the Chinese investment company that is the doorway to China's military-industrial complex. China, starved for hard currency, has thus far not signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty or missile-technology-limitation agreements.

Arms dealers are not the only ones to describe a pact between Abedi's bank and China's weapons industry: according to State Department sources, China has also

within the Soviet Union because of low pay, but that *perestroika* had cut into B.C.C.I. profits there. Reason: some government officials who favored the bank because of payoffs had been removed from their positions.

The very act of operating simultaneously as a bank and as a broker gives B.C.C.I. an enormous advantage: it is instantly able to fund virtually any deal it wants and empower any middleman it chooses to pull such a deal off. The B.C.C.I.-brokered sale of F-4 Phantom jet parts to Iran from the U.S. offers a good illustration of the process. The deal starts when B.C.C.I. learns from its sources in Iran that it wants to buy spare parts. B.C.C.I. and its agents then research the supplier market to obtain the price of the materiel. Because U.S. restrictions on the sale of such equipment to Iran make this particular deal illegal, B.C.C.I.

next provides a falsified end-user certificate saying the jet parts will be sold to Israel. The bank then opens a letter of credit—a form of financing only a bank can do—in favor of the seller or the seller's agent and arranges to ship the parts. Because B.C.C.I. is a large bank, it can afford to pay off the seller immediately, then turn and collect a vastly larger sum from Iran.

In spite of the virtual global shutdown of B.C.C.I., the bank remains intact in its traditional haven, Pakistan. Though other press reports maintain that Abedi is physically frail and often incoherent, TIME has interviewed several business associates who say he remains a major figure in the international weapons trade. He has held a press conference within the past month, and is in the process of licensing a new bank in Pakistan, called the Progressive Bank.

In the meantime, B.C.C.I. is even now brokering an arms deal to Abu Dhabi, involving the sale of 45 South African G-6 mobile artillery pieces. If B.C.C.I. can hold it together, sources say, Abu Dhabi may buy as many as 55 more of the same pieces.

The Price Waterhouse audit that led to B.C.C.I.'s seizure last July covered only its banking activities. It said nothing about immensely profitable deals in other businesses, notably weaponry. Nor could it account for profits it could not see. And while the enterprise's known banking services are shut down around the world, virtually the full cadre of B.C.C.I.'s black network, arms traders and global operatives remain unindicted, unaccused and at large. The best guess of many of the sources TIME interviewed is that they will simply move on, perhaps under the umbrella of Pakistan's newest bank. —With reporting by Adam Zagorin/Brussels



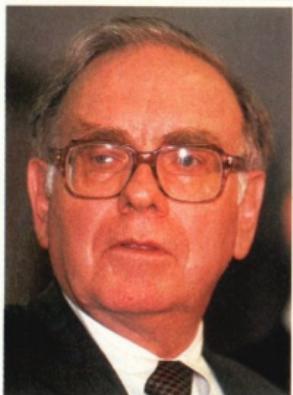
Triumphant Kuwaiti soldiers return home on tanks supplied to Desert Storm courtesy of B.C.C.I. East European maintenance crews came with the package.

themselves as a Third World, Muslim bank that would eventually dominate global finances by using oil dollars and Abedi's network of influence. And he whispered in the ears of the sheiks and the generals that he would bring them the Muslim bomb."

While munitions-control experts in the U.S. have evidence that B.C.C.I. played a role in the delivery of munitions-grade nuclear hardware and technology to Iraq and Iran, it is the Pakistanis who are the chief beneficiaries of Abedi's multifarious services. "You can't draw a line separating the bank's black operatives and Pakistan's intelligence services," says an international arms broker, who provided details of recent B.C.C.I.-generated orders for nuclear-bomb supplies for Pakistan. "And in Karachi his bankers are surprisingly patriotic."

Sources also point to China as a supplier of nuclear hardware for Pakistan, as well

used B.C.C.I. as a middleman in Silkworm missile sales to Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. The Silkworm missiles sold to Iraq and Saudi Arabia were equipped with sophisticated Israeli-manufactured guidance systems, the government sources say. Arms dealers who have done business with B.C.C.I. say its officers attracted illegal deals because the bank provided documentation and letters of credit for arms being shipped, for example, as agricultural machinery, and that it routinely handled arms moving out of Eastern Europe and masked technology transfers from the West to Soviet bloc countries. The East bloc trade was so lucrative that Abedi traveled to Moscow in 1985 to promote more weapons deals and to lobby for permission to open B.C.C.I. branch offices in the Soviet Union. Former employees have told TIME that B.C.C.I. associates found it easy to bribe arms-factory managers and officials



BRIAN WILSON/CHICAGO TRIBUNE
JOHN G. MABANGLO/REUTERS

the Justice Department, the Securities and Exchange Commission—where enforcement director William McLucas is personally heading the inquiry—and the New York Stock Exchange were launched. Next month Representative Edward Markey, who heads a subcommittee that oversees Treasury-bond trading, will hold hearings on the Salomon scandal.

The SEC is seeking detailed information from all dealers, brokerages and commercial banks authorized to trade Treasuries, as well as from individual bond traders employed at those firms. The Treasury Department is re-examining the records of every auction since 1986, a total of more than 200, searching for evidence of collusion with customers to violate the 35% rule. Industry analysts expect only minor infractions to turn up. Still, says Howard Sirota, a New York City securities attorney, "this proves that the market isn't quite as pristine and squeaky clean as its participants would have us believe."

Salomon's more urgent problem is customer defections, which threaten the firm's liquidity. The World Bank and at least two state treasuries and four state pension funds said they would all stop buying Treasury bonds through Salomon until questions about auction violations are resolved. The British Treasury is also considering sanctions against the investment house. More desertions are expected.

Salomon already faces about a dozen lawsuits filed by investors who charge they either overpaid for securities because of artificially inflated prices or were paid less interest income because of deflated yields. In anticipation of financial damages arising out of litigation, the firm is setting aside reserves that almost certainly will exceed its profits, which have totaled \$451 million so far this year. To head off a liquidity crisis, the investment house triggered its emergency financing plan, which calls for a shift from short-term IOU's to secured loans that pay higher rates.

Buffett's internal reforms, announced shortly after he and Maughan took up their posts, could cost Salomon some of its high-flying bond traders, who could bolt from the firm once they receive this year's bonuses. If individual bonuses are decoupled from the performance of business units in order to eliminate the motivation for overly aggressive trading, some traders may jump ship. Says a former Salomon trader: "People who have had deals like that know they can get them somewhere else."

Despite the desertions and a plunge in stock price of more than a third since the scandal broke, few are counting Solly out. The firm still maintains substantial resources and a loyal following. Says Samuel Hayes III, a finance professor at Harvard University: "Salomon will emerge from this episode, bloodied and bruised, but just as potent a force on Wall Street."

—With reporting by

Elaine Shannon/Washington

Into the morass: Buffett and Maughan must restore confidence in—and at—Salomon Brothers

FINANCE

Salvaging Salomon Brothers

A white knight and his new team fight to keep "Solly" afloat despite a tide of client desertions

By THOMAS MCCARROLL

When billionaire financier Warren Buffett announced he was assuming the chairmanship of Salomon Brothers on an interim basis last week, he stepped into a morass that threatened to grow worse before it got better. In fact, Buffett's salvage job began even before he was able to warm his new seat. The Treasury Department, in an attempt to restore confidence in the market, barred Salomon from bidding at further auctions. In a series of telephone calls with vacationing Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, Buffett successfully lobbied for leniency. Salomon was permitted to trade, but for its own account only, not on behalf of clients. The decision was more than symbolic, since Salomon, one of only 40 firms designated as primary dealers in T-bonds and T-bills, directly and indirectly counts on government securities for about 25% of its business. The firm participated in last week's auction under the watchful eye of Treasury officials.

Buffett, who owns 16% of Salomon's preferred stock and a legendary reputation for his investing, if not his investment-banking, savvy, assumed Solly's chairmanship after the board forced chairman John Gutfreund and two other top executives to step down. Buffett immediately brought in Deryck C. Maughan, 43, who until recently ran Salomon's Asian operations from Tokyo, and jettisoned two bond traders. Executives admitted that the firm had violated the rules that prohibit any one bidder from

WHERE SALLY STANDS IN THE GOVERNMENT SECURITIES MARKET*

THE TOP HALF A DOZEN

Salomon Brothers	18%
Shearson Lehman	8%
Goldman Sachs	7%
Merrill Lynch	7%
Morgan Stanley	6%
First Boston	4%

*Market share estimates of the percent of bids made by U.S. dealers at an average Treasury auction

TIME Chart

buying more than 35% of a single issue at a Treasury auction, and that they had skirted regulations barring a firm from submitting bids in its customers' names without their authorization in order to conceal such illegal efforts to influence the market.

For decades, the government securities market has been considered the world's safest haven for investors. Unlike stocks and bonds, both of which were plagued by a series of insider-trading cases during the 1980s, the \$2.2 trillion market for Treasury instruments was thought to be too big to rig. The Salomon scandal shook that conventional wisdom and aroused suspicion that other firms might be playing similar games. Consequently, an intimidating array of investigations by the Federal Reserve Bank,

Teens: The Rising Risk Of AIDS

As the infection rate grows among adolescents, the debate over how to stem it snags on whether to urge safe sex—or no sex

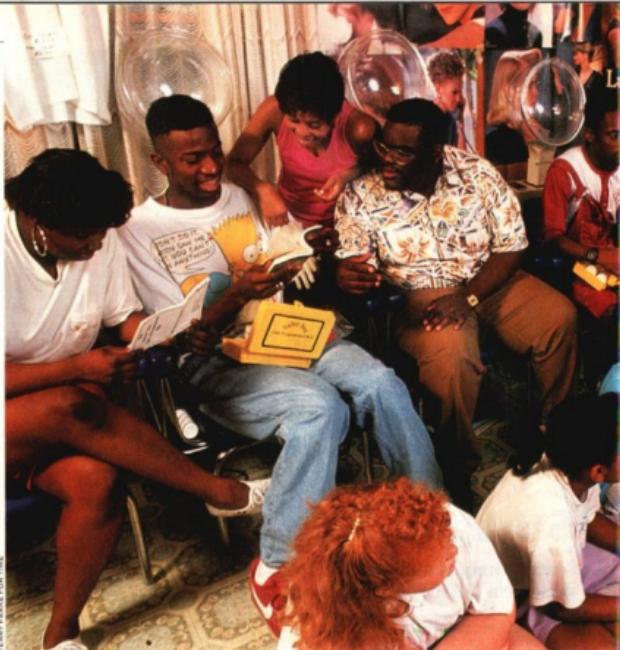
By NANCY GIBBS

When health department officials in rural Maryland learned from a Johns Hopkins survey that by the eighth grade, 61% of the boys and 47% of the girls at the local schools had had sexual intercourse, they approached the school board about providing condoms on demand. Given the speed at which the AIDS virus is spreading among teenagers—the number of cases is still quite small, but it doubles every 14 months—it was not surprising that the board seemed open to the proposal. But when it came time to decide, the condom measure lost by one vote. In a way, that was not surprising either. "Personally," declares Allen Whiteley, who was board vice president at the time, "I think it would have been encouraging sex rather than discouraging it."

That episode, and his comment, captures the fundamental dispute among parents, educators, health-care workers and activists over how to stop the spread of AIDS before it becomes a teenage epidemic. One side says the only safe sex is no sex; the other counters that chastity has no hold on America's youth, and that if children as young as 12 are becoming sexually active they should know how to protect themselves.

The two sides disagree not only about morality but also about what approach would be most effective. "We don't say, 'Smoke carefully.' We say, 'Don't smoke,'" argues Monsignor John Woolsey, director of Family Life for the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York City. "A huge campaign could work to stop kids from having sex. We don't water down principles." The goal, echoes John Walsh, spokesman of the Archdiocese of Boston, is to teach children to be good, not just safe. "AIDS was caused in this country by promiscuity and casual sex. It is not traditional values that have brought us to where we are."

But AIDS activists and health-care



workers have seen firsthand the devastation that ignorance can yield. Of the 1 million to 1.5 million HIV-infected Americans, an estimated one-fifth are teenagers. So far, the cases are clustered in certain populations: mostly blacks and Hispanics who are gay or drug users, living in major cities. "We have a teenage client dying with AIDS right now," says Frances Kunreuther, executive director of New York City's Hetrick-Martin Institute, a service center for gay and lesbian young people. "No one told him about AIDS, condoms or homosexuality. If you deny young people information based on your morality, you are sentencing them to death. Nothing is more immoral than that."

The battleground where the forces meet tends to be the classroom. As of last year, 31 states and the District of Columbia had mandated that schools provide some form of AIDS education, and virtually every state encourages such programs. But the curriculum varies greatly among schools, even among teachers. The most ardent proponents argue that health education should begin in kindergarten and eventually include detailed instruction about the nature and risks of homosexual and heterosexual intercourse. Conservatives are appalled. "We've seen the ACT-UP and

Planned Parenthood curriculum proposals," says Monsignor Woolsey. "I wouldn't put them in Times Square bookstores, let alone schools. The average parent would throw up reading them."

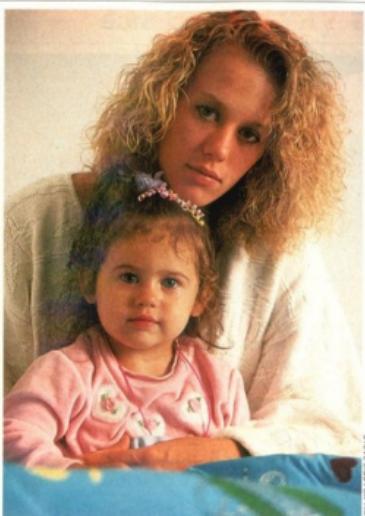
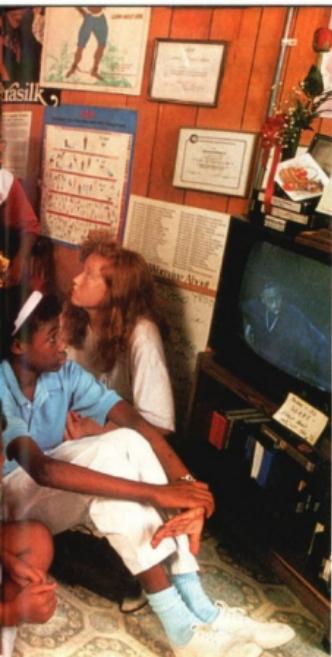
In many communities the debate has focused on whether the schools should provide more than information. In a handful of American cities, school-based clinics

have begun to distribute condoms to students, but not without resistance from community activists. "These people believe that clinics shouldn't be in the schools because they are usurping the authority of the family," explains Jackie Sadler, director of the HIV/AIDS Education Program in the Washington public schools. "They

don't want us to be doing anything they perceive as condoning sexual behavior."

But there is plenty of evidence that teens need no encouragement. Though there are few sources of reliable information about teenage sexuality, it is clear that the level of activity is rising. One sign is that each year the number of teens infected with a sexually transmitted disease grows, with 3 million cases reported last year. The syphilis rate among 15-to-19-year-olds jumped 50% in the 1980s. "We know that STDs tend to travel together," says Dr. Edward Hook III, chief

Although the incidence of AIDS among teenagers is still low, it is doubling every 14 months



In South Carolina, a beauty parlor doubles as a classroom for AIDS education. In Massachusetts, Jennifer Andre contracted the disease while using drugs as a teenager, but did not pass it on to her two-year-old daughter. Andre now helps teach prevention to schoolchildren.

teenagers are unlikely to meet many ailing peers since the incubation for HIV averages 10 years. Jennifer Andre, 21, who was infected by a dirty needle three years ago, regularly speaks to youths in Massachusetts in order to bring home the point that everybody is at risk. "A few months ago, I was at a Boston inner-city school, and there was a kid who wouldn't believe I was infected," she recalls. "He kept saying that I was a paid actress and that I was just saying I had AIDS."

While the debate unfolds, both the traditional and progressive approaches are likely to roll along side by side and rightly so, since teaching about sexual behavior in a moral vacuum would not serve young people well, any more than ignoring the practical pressures to experiment with sex and drugs that they confront each day. Any AIDS education should be coupled with programs about drug and alcohol abuse, in order to address all the risk factors that intertwine. School is by no means the only, or even always the best, place for this to happen. In Columbia, S.C., a beauty-shop owner named, memorably, DiAna DiAna began her own crusade six years ago. Impatient with skimpy newspaper accounts of the spread of AIDS, she wrote away for pamphlets and photocopied them for her clients. "I read that you had to have condoms," she says, "so I ordered 5,000." And she talks to the local teenagers as bluntly as possible. "You cannot shock or embarrass me," she tells them. The most effective part of her programs, she says, is that they "get people to talk and communicate—to make sex not such a big mystery."

Judging which approaches to AIDS prevention are most effective will be impossible without more complete knowledge of the attitudes and behavior of young people. But that information may be hard to come by. Last month the Bush Administration blocked a comprehensive survey of adolescent sexual practices after critics charged that its questions about oral and anal sex were too explicit for children. Others greeted the cancellation with outrage. "We have a terrible deficit of knowledge about sexual behavior as a whole in this country," says Dr. Hook. "We don't know if youngsters in low-risk areas are just not having sex or if the virus hasn't got there yet." Without better information, researchers might find out only when more people start dying. That is not a scientific method that any country can afford.

—Reported by David M. Gross/
Boston and Anne E. West/Washington

of Sexually Transmitted Disease Control for the Baltimore Health Department. "People who acquire an STD are at risk to get HIV; certainly they're not practicing safe sex."

While reported adult AIDS cases occur predominantly among males—there are seven infected men for every infected woman—the profile of the disease among urban teens is more mixed, much like AIDS in Africa. There are three teenage males to every female with the virus, according to Dr. Karen Hein of Montefiore Medical Center in the Bronx, who founded the nation's first adolescent AIDS clinic. "We are seeing more younger girls, sometimes 14-year-olds," says Hein. "Among teens, a far greater number of cases are spread by heterosexual sex."

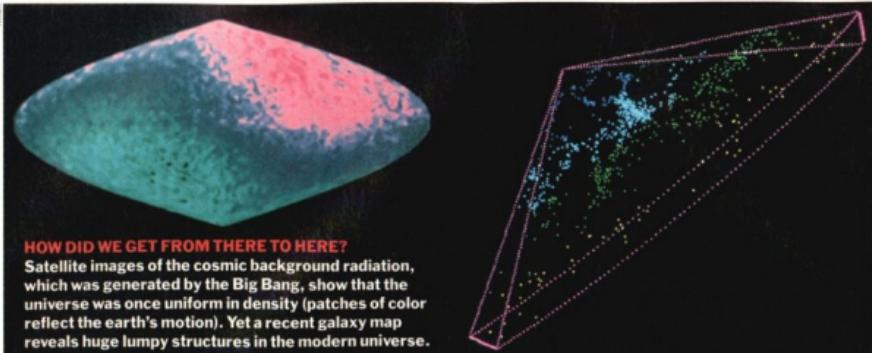
Those who favor a values-based approach to AIDS prevention urge some variant of Just Say No. Their argument is bolstered by several studies showing that even well-informed, well-equipped teenagers engage in high-risk sexual activity. "The strategic mistake we're making is to assume that more knowledge and greater access to condoms are going to change high-risk behavior," says Stan Weed, 48, director of the Institute for Research and Evaluation, a nonprofit laboratory in Salt Lake City. "Teens approach sex in neither a logical nor a rational way."

This gap between knowledge and behavior is a major challenge facing AIDS

educators, says Richard P. Keeling, chair of the American College Health Association's Task Force on AIDS in Charlottesville, Va. "I suspect any parent or teacher would point to peer pressure, or teens' sense of invulnerability," he says. But there are other important factors. A teenage girl may be too embarrassed to ask her partner to wear a condom. Or a youth might not want to buy condoms because it makes him feel guilty for having sex. Many prefer not to question their partners' sex practices, as a sign of trust. And finally, Keeling says, the mixed messages that teenagers receive can be deeply confusing. "Kids do what they see, not what they know. We tell kids not to have sex and then we use sex to sell everything."

All too often, logic and good judgment are clouded by alcohol and drugs, so that disease prevention becomes far more difficult. "Most of the time I had sex with guys I was drunk," says a 23-year-old San Francisco woman who contracted HIV as a teenager. "I never thought a guy would care for me unless I slept with him. I was so uncomfortable with myself I had to be drunk."

Some researchers suggest that teenagers cannot imagine themselves at risk because they never meet infected teens. This view, in a sense, is an extension of the idea that gay men only started taking precautions after seeing their friends die. But



HOW DID WE GET FROM THERE TO HERE?

Satellite images of the cosmic background radiation, which was generated by the Big Bang, show that the universe was once uniform in density (patches of color reflect the earth's motion). Yet a recent galaxy map reveals huge lumpy structures in the modern universe.

PHOTO COURTESY: BIRGIR HALLDORSSON/REDFERNS

Big Bang Under Fire

New data about the cosmos have exposed some holes in the theory, but reports of its demise are exaggerated

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

The term Big Bang has become part of the standard scientific vocabulary, but it was first coined in the 1940s as a put-down. The idea that the universe actually had a beginning seemed just plain wacky—especially since there was almost no evidence at the time to support it. Yet by the end of the 1960s, virtually all astrophysicists were convinced that the cosmos was born in a single massive explosion, and doubters were left out on the fringe.

In recent months, however, that fringe has been growing. A spate of articles in both the popular and scientific press point to disturbing discrepancies between recent astronomical findings and the Big Bang theory. A book by a renegade physicist even proclaims confidently that *The Big Bang Never Happened*.

What's in trouble is not so much the Big Bang itself but modern astronomy's account of what occurred afterward. How did the dense, superheated cloud of particles and radiation created by the explosion evolve into the complex modern universe of stars and galaxies?

According to the conventional explanation, the cosmos began to expand and cool immediately after the moment of the Big Bang. For 300,000 years or so, the expansion continued, but enormous numbers of tightly packed, free-ranging electrons created a dense fog that kept light from shining: the universe was hellishly hot, but utterly dark. Finally, the electrons were incorporated into atoms, and the light broke free in a gigantic flash. Astronomers

can still see that ancient light, known as the cosmic background radiation, although it has cooled to about -270°C (-454°F) and is visible only to sensitive radio telescopes.

But new research suggests there is something wrong with this picture. Regions of the universe that had slightly higher density when the light broke free—the areas that later accreted under gravity to form the galaxies and clusters—should be detectable as slightly warmer regions of the background radiation. Yet the radiation has been analyzed in detail—most recently by the Cosmic Background Explorer satellite—and its temperature is utterly uniform. Meanwhile, powerful telescopes have revealed unexpected agglomerations of galaxies tens of millions of light-years across. How could such giant structures have arisen from the smooth-textured aftermath of the Big Bang?

One popular explanation postulates a major role for a mysterious, invisible substance called dark matter. Astronomers have learned about dark matter through indirect evidence: galaxies spin and orbit one another faster as the laws of physics allow, unless one presumes the presence of invisible matter that provides the extra gravity of dark matter could also have helped the galaxies grow faster out of the smoothness of the early universe. Even this explanation, however, does not sufficiently account for recent observations. "It is clear that there is something profoundly wrong with our theories," says Harvard astrophysicist Margaret Geller.

A few scientists believe it is the Big

Bang theory itself that is wrong. Instead of a universe that exploded into being 20 billion years ago and grew by way of gravity's tug, they postulate a cosmos trillions of years old and shaped not by gravity but by electricity and magnetism. Their evidence comes mainly from lab experiments showing that electromagnetic forces can pull hot gases into distinct structures. Most astrophysicists dismiss this idea, but alternative schemes offered by mainstream thinkers are almost as wild. Many groups are exploring the idea that the Big Bang created strange energy formations, largely undetectable in the cosmic background radiation, variously dubbed cosmic strings, global textures or cosmological constants.

Yet the Big Bang theory remains essentially intact because it is based on three fundamental pieces of evidence, none of which can be accounted for by any competing model. The first is the cosmic background radiation: its evenness and the mix of electromagnetic wavelengths it contains can only have come about, as far as anybody knows, if the universe was once dense, hot and small. The second is the fact that the universe is expanding. Calculating backward, one easily concludes that all the galaxies must have come from a single point. Finally there is the fact that hydrogen makes up 75% of the matter in the universe and helium nearly 25%. These elements can only be forged in a furnace as hot as the Big Bang, and the proportions correspond exactly to what the Big Bang model posits.

None of this means the Big Bang is the ultimate truth. Someone could come along tomorrow with a better explanation for the known facts, and that would delight astronomers. Says Princeton astrophysicist Bohdan Paczynski, a Big Bang supporter: "I'd love to disprove the Big Bang myself. It would make me instantly famous. But the evidence is just not there."

Milestones

NOT RUNNING. Albert Gore Jr., 43, U.S. Senator from Tennessee and oft-mentioned contender for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1992; announced in Carthage, Tenn. Gore, who finished third in the 1988 nomination bids, explained that duty to his four children, ages 8 to 18, offset the fire in his belly. He thus joins a list of prominent Democratic nonstarters that so far includes Jay Rockefeller, Dick Gephardt, Lloyd Bentsen, Bill Bradley, Sam Nunn and Mario Cuomo.

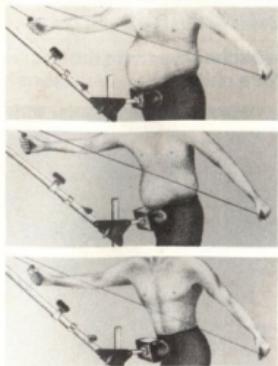
CONVICTED. Julio Gonzalez, 37, the Cuban refugee who last year committed one of the worst mass murders in U.S. history by setting a fire that killed 87 people at the Happy Land social club in the Bronx; in New York City. Gonzalez, who confessed to the killings but pleaded insanity, was convicted of 174 counts of murder, two for each victim. He faces a maximum of 25 years to life in prison.

DIED. Jack Ryan, 65, eclectic inventor and a former husband of the actress Zsa Zsa Gabor; in Los Angeles. Working for Raytheon, Ryan helped develop the Hawk and Sparrow III missile systems. His greatest claim to fame, however, was the Barbie doll, which he helped design during his 18 years with Mattel, Inc. He also helped father the Chatty Cathy talking doll and Hot Wheels toy cars.

DIED. Colleen Dewhurst, 67, raspy-voiced, Tony Award-winning actress; of cancer; in South Salem, N.Y. Although she appeared in a number of television and feature films, Dewhurst was most identified with the dramas of Eugene O'Neill on Broadway. She played the forlorn, drug-plagued Mary Tyrone in *Long Day's Journey into Night* and the murderous Christine Mannon in *Mourning Becomes Electra*. Dewhurst won a 1974 Tony as best dramatic actress for her performance as Josie Hogan in O'Neill's *A Moon for the Misbegotten*. Her last film appearance was in this year's *Dying Young*, which stars her son Campbell Scott, one of two children with actor George C. Scott, her former husband.

DIED. Charles Garry, 82, pugnacious attorney best known for representing Black Panthers and antiwar protesters in the 1960s; in Berkeley. In 1967 Garry emerged as one of the nation's top radical lawyers when he took the case of Huey P. Newton, a founder of the Black Panthers. Newton had been charged with murdering a police officer in a shoot-out in Oakland, but was convicted of voluntary manslaughter. In 1978 Garry, who was legal counsel to the Rev. Jim Jones of the California-based Peoples's Temple, escaped through the jungle before the mass murder and suicide took place at Jonestown, Guyana.

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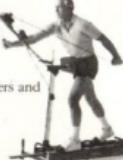
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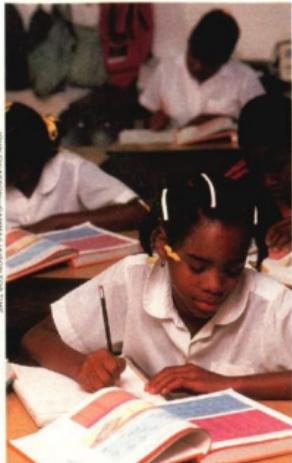
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Education

Why 180 Days Aren't Enough

The U.S. has one of the shortest school years in the industrialized world: it's time for a change



PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES M. NIELSEN FOR TIME

220 DAYS:

At Lockett, left, and Moton, students work on reading and math, meeting needs that are particularly acute in the inner cities, where family ties are weak and dropout rates are high

By SAM ALLIS NEW ORLEANS

All across the U.S., kids are trooping back to school, but for youngsters at the Robert Russa Moton and Johnson C. Lockett elementary schools in New Orleans, summer ended on July 10. On that date, the 1,450 youngsters returned for the third year of an experimental program that adds 40 extra days to the usual 180-day school year. They were breaking a long-standing American tradition of summer vacations—dating back to a time when family labor was vital to the late-summer harvest—that give the U.S. one of the shortest school years in the industrialized world. There is surely a connection, a growing number of reformers argue, between that distinction and the dismal academic performances of American students, compared with their peers elsewhere.

Increasingly, many of those critics urge that what is good for the kids at Moton and Lockett might be good for the entire U.S.: an extended academic year for everybody. The case for that radical change, says Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, is "absolu-

tely compelling." It also seems perfectly in keeping with President George Bush's highly-touted goal of making U.S. students first in the world in mathematics and science by the year 2000—even though Bush did not mention lengthening the school year in the education plan he unveiled last April.

A growing number of ordinary Americans, however, support the idea. The Gallop Organization, which has been polling on the subject since 1958, found last week for the first time that a majority (51%) of its sample favored a longer year. "If I spend more time at the piano, I get better at it," argues Dwight McKenna, the New Orleans school-board member who initiated the Moton and Lockett experiment.

The case for the longer school year is particularly acute in the inner cities, where family ties are weak, at-home support for education is often minimal and dropout rates are high. Summertime spent on the hot ghetto streets is hardly as culturally enriching as the time middle-class students devote to camps, exotic vacations and highly organized sports. Moton and Lockett, for example, are located near New Orleans' notorious Florida

and Desire housing projects, where children sometimes skip rope within the sound of gunfire. "This has nothing to do with competition with the Japanese and everything to do with urban reality," says McKenna. "This is eight hours when the drug addicts can't get at these kids."

Teachers get them instead. Attired in trim khaki-and-white uniforms, Moton youngsters between the ages of four and 11 work through reading and mathematics exercises and then at recess stampede out of the air-conditioned, cinder-block building to become blurs in the steamy 100° heat. They are candid about their options. "If I was home, I'd just sit around," says fifth-grader Alkima Thomas.

So far, the educational results of the New Orleans experiment are mixed. Teachers at Moton and Lockett find that the extra-long year at a minimum gives them a head start on the traditional weeks of review work at the beginning of the new school term. "Come September, I'm ready to get into the meat of reading," says Juana Smith, a second-grade teacher at Lockett. "Normally, I can't do that until the end of October." But students at both schools test far below the state average in reading, and their scores since the 220-day year began have improved only marginally. "My kids can't read the way they ought to," says Ellene Brooks-Simms, the principal

PUTTING IN THE SCHOOL DAYS

JAPAN	243
WEST GERMANY	210
SOVIET UNION	210
THAILAND	200
THE NETHERLANDS	200
ENGLAND	192
FINLAND	190
FRANCE	185
SWEDEN	180
U.S.	180

Source: Education Commission of the States

of Moton school, Brooks-Simms and her counterpart at Lockett, Wilbert Dunn, are trying to put even more emphasis on reading instruction by cutting time spent on gym, music and other activities.

The major obstacle to the extended year in New Orleans, as it is across the country, is money. The Moton and Lockett experiment cost about \$870,000 last year. More than \$500,000 came from the Federal Government, while the school board anted up the remainder. But the future of the program after this year is dim because the board claims it can no longer afford to contribute its share. Thus far, there have been no appeals to the private sector for funding to continue the project. Financially pressed state and local governments across the U.S. would find it extremely tough to assume the burden of such a program. In California, for example, a move to a 220-day program from kindergarten through high school would cost \$121 million a day, according to Charles Ballinger, executive director of the National Association for Year-Round Education.

But most parents at Moton and Lockett strongly support the longer school session and worry about a return to the old system. "My kids are learning more, and I know they're safe," says Dwan Greene, who has two children at Moton. Even the kids appear enthusiastic about days spent near a teacher instead of a television set. Teachers at the two schools also seem pleased, despite the extra work. Among other things, they like the additional money they earn, which is prorated into their regular salaries.

The glowing recommendations for a wider adoption of the longer school year are based on the premise that the added time would in all cases be put to good use. This assumes a lot. Many inner-city schools labor under appalling conditions that produce poor education and endless disciplinary problems. "More of the same isn't any better if the same isn't good enough to begin with," says Norman Morgan, whose Polk County, N.C., school board in 1985 stopped an experimental program that had suddenly lifted the school year from 180 days to 200. Lockett principal Dunn agrees. "The simple fact of more time spent on tasks does not change anything. It must be coupled with something extra."

Even with that caveat, it is clear that the time for a hard look at the longer school year has come. "It's a litmus test on how serious we are about education," says the Carnegie Foundation's Boyer. The state of Oregon evidently agrees: a comprehensive education bill enacted in July will add 40 days to the school year over the next two decades. Both President Bush and corporate America would also do well to support the change, at least on an experimental basis. The summertime harvest that America needs to reap these days is not down on the farm, but up in the mind. ■

Law

Putting the Brakes on Crime

Tulsa tries an innovative therapy to straighten out young offenders: install them in a squad car for a few months

As dusk fell on Tulsa's bustling Memorial Drive, Mike Hall, 14, was playing cop—but the blue-and-white Gran Fury police car he was sitting in was no toy. The driver, patrolman Rick Coleman, had just hauled over a truck for driving without lights. As Coleman climbed out to question the trucker, his passenger couldn't resist temptation. He flicked on the car's red spotlight and played the beam up and down the side of a darkened warehouse.

Luckily for Hall, Coleman missed the antics. The kid and the cop are buddies, but Mike is also an auto thief who was sentenced to an indeterminate period of probation last year after he and a friend hot-wired an Olds Cutlass and led police on a mile-long chase. For 10 months Mike rode long hours in the cruiser with Coleman as part of an experiment to reform young delinquents. The theory behind the program is that cops can be strong role models for the youths, who get to view crime from the victims' perspective, a shock that courts and reformatories cannot provide.

The Youth Intervention Program was launched by the police department to combat a wave of auto thefts in Tulsa, where 7,599 vehicles were stolen in 1990 alone, many by juveniles. By limiting the plan largely to 12- to 14-year-olds, officials hope to reach kids they can still straighten out. The youths and their parents sign contracts with the county juvenile bureau, committing the offenders to patrol shifts. In 14 months, six youths have made it through an average of 150 hours of patrols to complete their probation, and one of them has gone

on to enroll in the Job Corps. Hall finished his tour in July and last week entered the eighth grade.

The nightly drama of Tulsa's mean streets is a sobering experience for these kids. In his twice-weekly adventures, Hall witnessed burglary and assault calls, watched Coleman wrestle a fugitive in a convenience store and remove a dead body from a house, and stood by as police broke up family fights. He drove to the station house with shoplifters and drunks handcuffed in the front seat and prowled darkened roads on the lookout for molesters. "I guess I didn't know how bad the other side of crime is," he says.

The hours in a police cruiser also build a special camaraderie. "He's cool, he's O.K.," said Mike of his police partner as Coleman, pistol drawn, checked out the open door of a warehouse where a burglar alarm was ringing. "He's like a kid brother," says Coleman. "There's nothing we won't talk about—drugs, booze, sex—and if he gets in trouble, he'll have to deal with me."

The Tulsa program has had its failures. One 14-year-old who did a five-month stint riding with the cops later viciously attacked and robbed a motorist in a parking lot. Police blamed a lack of concern and discipline at home. "This program's a shot in the arm," says patrolman Greg Ball, "but it's only one part of the puzzle." Other officers agree—but they are also convinced that reforming a teenager is easier and far cheaper for society than dealing with a hardened criminal of 20. —By Richard Woodbury/Tulsa



A look at the other side of crime: Hall on night patrol with police officer Coleman

Wonders of the Vegetable Bin

Six ordinary foodstuffs that medical researchers think have potent effects on cholesterol and cancer

By JANICE M. HOROWITZ

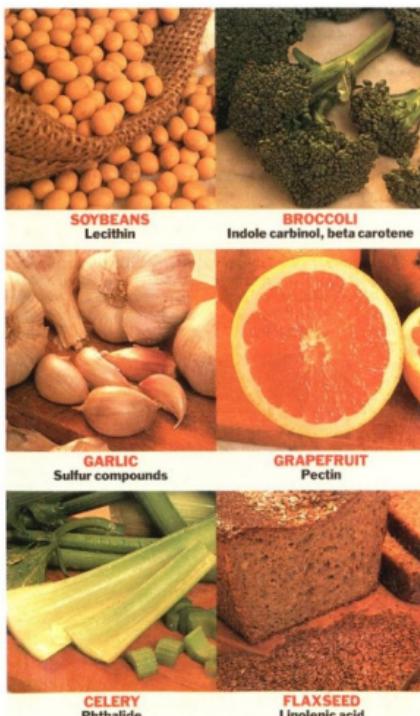
Take another look in the pantry: it might be a drugstore. Six of the latest hot health foods are common, garden-variety foodstuffs, from garlic to celery and—sorry, George Bush—broccoli, that show uncommon potential for preventing cancer, heart disease and other illnesses. Scientists are only beginning to appreciate the way that common plants store potent chemical compounds that may block the body's synthesis of carcinogens or decrease cholesterol levels in the blood. "We're finally catching up with what vegetarians and health-food nuts believed all along," says Jon Michnovicz, medical director of New York City's Institute for Hormone Research. Researchers caution that the effects of all the chemicals in the ordinary wonder foods are not known. Binging on them is definitely not recommended.

CELERY. Long valued (for their low calorie content) as diet food, the green stalks may be even better for the heart. Researchers at the University of Chicago reported in April that rats experienced a 12% to 14% drop in systolic blood pressure and a substantial reduction in cholesterol levels after four weeks on a celery diet. The rodents were injected with a tiny amount of celery extract a day; a 150-lb. human would have to gobble four large stalks for the same proportionate intake. Stalks, however, unlike extract, contain lots of undesirable salt. The cardio-friendly ingredient in celery is a compound called phthalide that may also exert a mild sedative effect on humans.

BROCCOLI. This member of the cabbage family is rich in a little-known substance called indole carbinol, which breaks down estrogen, a hormone that seems to promote the development of certain breast tumors. Scientists believe about a cup of broccoli every other day could contain enough indole carbinol to prevent the growths. So far, research has shown a pronounced effect on mice; preliminary stud-

ies are being carried out on 50 women who are at high risk for such cancers. Broccoli and its relatives also contain beta carotene, a substance that could help ward off lung, throat and bladder cancer. The same compound may also reduce the risk of heart attack. Researchers at Harvard Medical School report that men with clogged arteries who were fed beta carotene supplements suffered half as many heart seizures and strokes as did men given placebo pills.

GRAPEFRUIT. Researchers think pectin, the gelling agent found in the peel and white membrane that surround citrus pulp, could also lower cholesterol levels. After 60 days of eating pectin, pigs at the University of Flori-



da showed a marked reduction in blood fat. Preliminary studies indicate that pectin may be useful in treating clogged arteries. The amount of citrus probably needed to produce any results is dauntingly high: the equivalent of two or three grapefruit a day.

FLAXSEED. Long overlooked in U.S. kitchens, flax is a cereal grain containing a type of fatty acid similar to that found in fish oil. The substance, linolenic acid, may inhibit the body's production of prostaglandins, hormone-like substances that can contribute to the formation of tumors. Tests on animals have been promising, but human trials have not yet been conducted. Linolenic acid could also be a potential weapon against asthma, arthritis and psoriasis. Europeans and Canadians consume lots of flaxseed in their bread and cereals. Few U.S. manufacturers bake with the grain.

GARLIC. The "lowly stinking rose" may lower blood pressure slightly and help prevent blood clotting, like aspirin. A recent

German study showed marked reduction in blood fats, including cholesterol, among people who consumed the equivalent of one clove of garlic a day. The active compounds are probably the same sulfur derivatives that give garlic its distinctive odor. Other studies suggest that sulfur compounds may suppress the development of stomach cancer in humans and breast cancer in laboratory animals. Garlic does not have to be eaten raw, but deep frying and high heat could destroy its active ingredients. If the idea of fresh garlic is just too malodorous, a German-based company markets a tablet form, which it claims is scent free.

SOYBEANS. A mainstay of Asian cuisines, soybeans can be boiled, canned or processed as bean curd (tofu). Last year researchers at the Bronx Veterans Affairs Medical Center and the Mount Sinai School of Medicine in New York City found that lecithin, which is abundant in soybeans, may help prevent alcoholic cirrhosis of the liver. Isoflavones in the beans have been shown to prevent liver cancer in animals by breaking down toxic agents that can cause the malignancy. A strong word of warning about soy: it also contains protease inhibitors, which have been linked to the development of pancreatic cancer.

—Reported by
Michele Donley/Chicago



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Books

What Is the Meaning of Life?

THE GOLD BUG VARIATIONS by Richard Powers
Morrow; 639 pages; \$25

By PAUL GRAY

Some may find this novel's title, with its punning allusions to Bach's *Goldberg Variations* and Poe's short story *The Gold Bug*, a little too cute, and they are probably right. On the other hand, *The Gold Bug Variations* passes the truth-in-advertising test: the label accurately reflects the additives Bach and Poe to the contents inside and warns away consumers who prefer their fiction plain.

The rest are in for a read of dazzling, sometimes intimidating complexity, which includes, among many, many other things, two love stories, separated by a quarter-century but analogous in a number of tantalizing ways: a detective story, pieced together from random clues, tracing the disappearance of a brilliant young scientist from a quest that seemed to promise him a Nobel Prize; a sprinkling of charts, tables and graphs; thumbnail histories of Western music and painting and of newer subjects like information theory and computer programming; a white-knuckle account of the race to find the meaning of life within a molecule; and the constant hum of intellectual enchantment.

This sinuous story begins near its conclusion, in June 1985. Jan O'Deigh, an employee at a Brooklyn branch of the New York Public Library, receives a note from her former lover Franklin Todd: Stuart Ressler is dead. Grieving, Jan remembers the day some three years earlier when Todd first appeared at her desk and requested information about Ressler. "What was the man's line of work?" she had asked. "Don't know for sure," came the reply. "Something hard. Something objective, I mean." And why did he want to know about Ressler? "I work with him."

All true, Jan discovers. Using her formidable research skills, she digs up references to Ressler in 1958, including a small photograph in LIFE with the caption "Dr. Stuart Ressler: one of the new breed who will help uncover the formula for human life." And then she is taken to meet Ressler himself, at a nearby renovated warehouse where he and Todd, an art-history gradu-

ate student stalled on his dissertation, work the night shift for a computer billing outfit.

Jan, approaching 30, falls in love with Todd, four years her junior, and, in a different way, with Dr. Ressler, who is entering his 50s and who "came as close as anyone I've ever met to demonstrate that saving grace of *Homo sapiens*: the ability to step out of the food chain and, however momentarily, refuse to compete." With Todd now vanished and Ressler gone, she

twining strings of four chemical bases—and already the opportunity of reading these combinations and putting life on a map seems within reach.

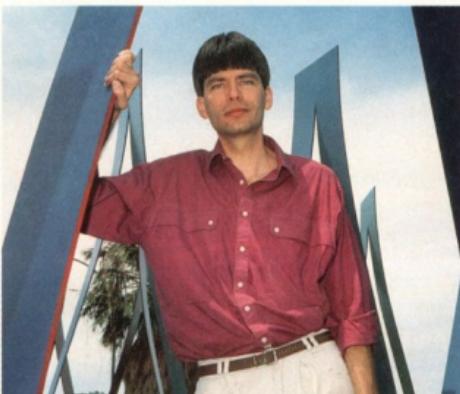
On the surface, the solution looks like a question of decoding, the kind of feat that leads to the discovery of buried treasure in *The Gold Bug*. But Ressler is not so sure: "We are the by-product of the mechanism in *there*. So it must be more ingenious than us. Anything complex enough to create consciousness may be too complex for consciousness to understand." Further complicating his quest for pure knowledge, Ressler falls in love with Jeanette Koss, four years his senior, a married member of the Cyfer team. She gives him a present, a well-worn recording of the *Goldberg Variations*:

"Four notes, four measures, four phrases, pouring out everything." Might this not be the way DNA works its quartet of chemicals into endless diversity?

And the four main characters of the novel—Jan and Todd, Jeanette and Ressler—describe some dazzling, antiphonal permutations on their own. Both women are, for different reasons, unable to hear children; they are dedicated or interested onlookers at the mysteries of generation. Both men can be accounted failures, Ressler because he left a brilliant career and Todd because he lacks the nerve to begin one. But each is a welcome rarity in contemporary fiction: an intelligent, interesting and sympathetic actor in the drama of daily life.

Richard Powers, 34, is the recluse author of two earlier highly praised novels,

Three Farmers on Their Way (1985) and *Prisoner's Dilemma* (1988). His work on *The Gold Bug Variations*, which began in 1986, was aided by a 1989 MacArthur Foundation "genius fellowship." Seldom photographed or interviewed, he put himself on display during a brief prepublication visit to his native U.S.—he was born and raised in the Midwest—before returning to the Netherlands, where he has lived for the past five or so years. He says his brush with publicity was less painful than he had feared: "Self-promotion is not easy for me. But there's a paradox here. The point of avoiding attention is not to become too self-conscious; at a certain point, the avoidance becomes self-conscious. I'm eager to get back to writing." On the evidence of this masterly novel, the world should allow Richard Powers to work in peace. ■



A reclusive author who lives in the Netherlands, Powers has created a quartet of intelligent actors engaged in the drama of daily life

impulsively quits her job to record the months the three of them spent together—talking all night while the computers whirred, enjoying a snowbound weekend in New Hampshire—and to find out what happened to Stuart Ressler and why.

These two strands of story coil around each other, and the suspicion gradually arises that more than one narrator has been at work here. But the sources are less important than the patterns and the possibilities of meaning hiding within them. The movement begins with Ressler in 1957, fresh from graduate school at age 25, arriving at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign to join Cyfer, a research team assembled to crack the genetic code of the DNA molecule. The infant field is electric with excitement; scarcely four years have passed since Crick and Watson proposed the double-helix model for DNA—inter-

Balls and Brats

HARD COURTS by John Feinstein; Villard; 457 pages; \$22.50

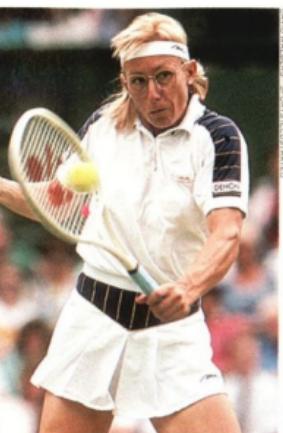
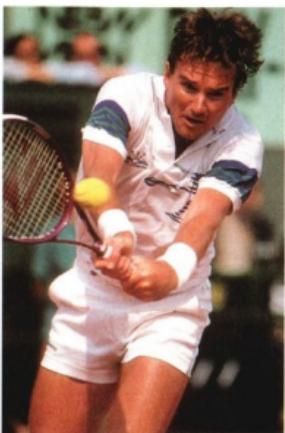
By JOHN SKOW

Baseball isn't really for strong, quick fellows who can bat .296; it is for skinny nonathletes who can memorize earned-run averages. Football is for Republicans. But what character flaw is fed by watching tennis six hours a day for two weeks when the French Open, Wimbledon or the U.S. Open is on the tube?

That's the sort of question a certified

the joy of the game almost completely.

He does not seem to feel the marvelous rightness when two players extend each other beyond the edge of what is possible. He does not report the gritty stretches when character rules the game's flow and the flow ruthlessly illuminates character. Bud Collins gave us such narration in his wonderfully lighthearted 1989 memoir, *My Life with the Pros*, and John McPhee wrote the classic tennis portraits (of Clark



Jimmy Connors and Martina Navratilova doing what they love best

tennis not asks himself halfway through *Hard Courts*, John Feinstein's long and relentless examination of the men's and women's pro-tennis tours. If the game's mood is as brash and the players are as egomaniacal as this guy says, what am I doing here? It's a grouchy, spoilsport question, whose answer probably is that tennis watching is for those of us who always wanted to throw our oatmeal on the floor when we were little but were afraid the referee would default us.

Yes, the tennis pros of both sexes are petulant, greedy children. Yes, their agents, management execs, tournament directors and manufacturers' reps have the fresh, openhearted appeal of plant lice. No doubt Andre Agassi's extensive entourage is as pompous and absurd as Feinstein says, and somehow it is not startling to hear that the parents of young French Open winner Michael Chang were widely unloved. But there's more to world-class tennis than posturers and connivers, and Feinstein, who covered tennis for the recently defunct sports daily, the *National*, misses

Graebner and Arthur Ashe) in *Levels of the Game*. Feinstein had the opportunity to write a book that would stand with these, but he is flat where he should be funny, and unevocative where he should sketch scenes.

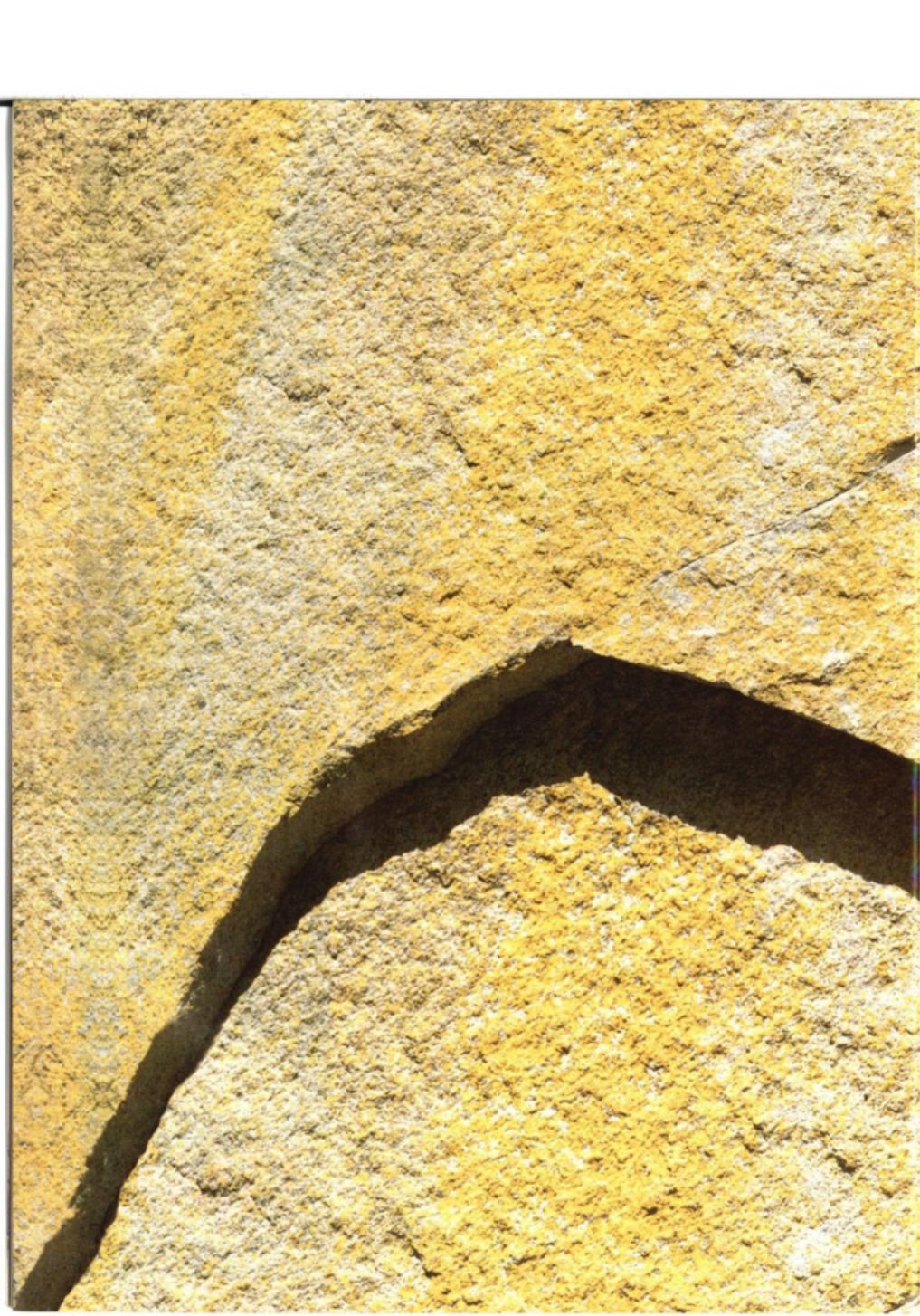
Tennis players are on intensive view for longer periods than any other athletes, which is why they hide their heads under towels at changeovers. But Feinstein does not give us that view. He does not show Lendl or Becker or Navratilova moving on a court. A single exception illustrates what is missing. Jimmy Connors, Feinstein says, was playing singles in the early stages of a tournament, and another match was under way on the adjoining court. Connors went wide for a ball, slugged a winner, was carried into the next court by his momentum, saw a ball from the other match coming at him, and hit that for a winner too. That's Connors, the scrappy genius, twice as competitive as anyone else. But if you want to know why John McEnroe and Steffi Graf matter, and not just how spoiled and rich they are, you won't learn it here. ■

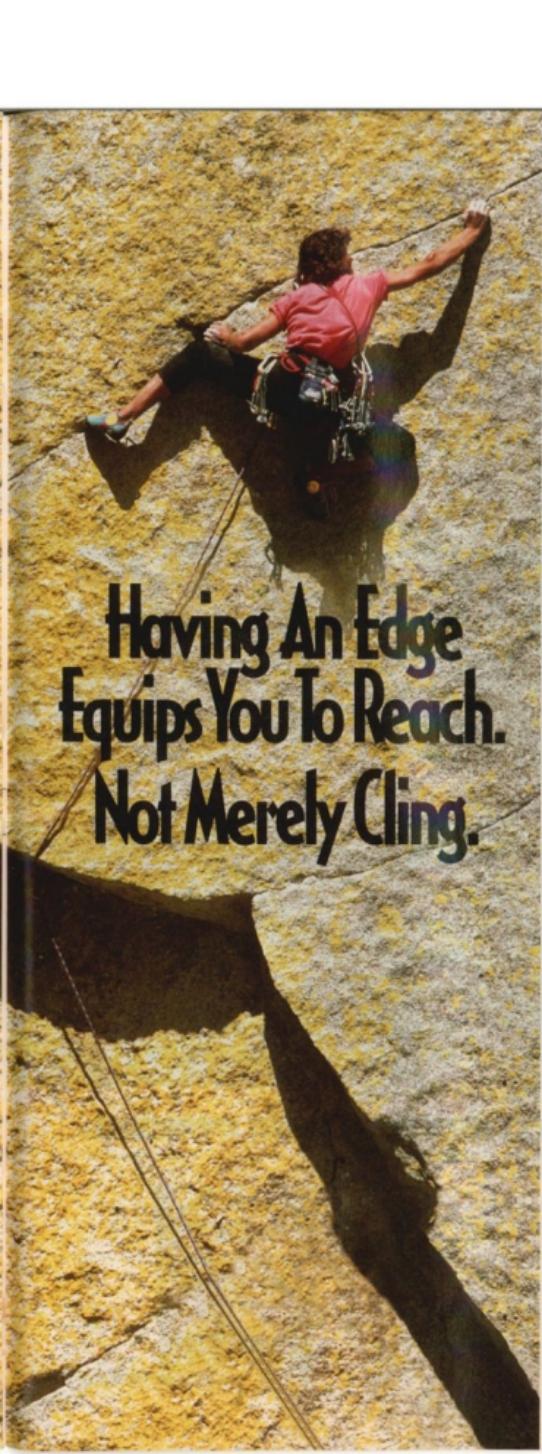
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A photograph of a person climbing a light-colored rock face. The climber is wearing a pink shirt and dark pants, and is using a rope and carabiners. A vibrant rainbow shadow is cast onto the rock face to the right of the climber.

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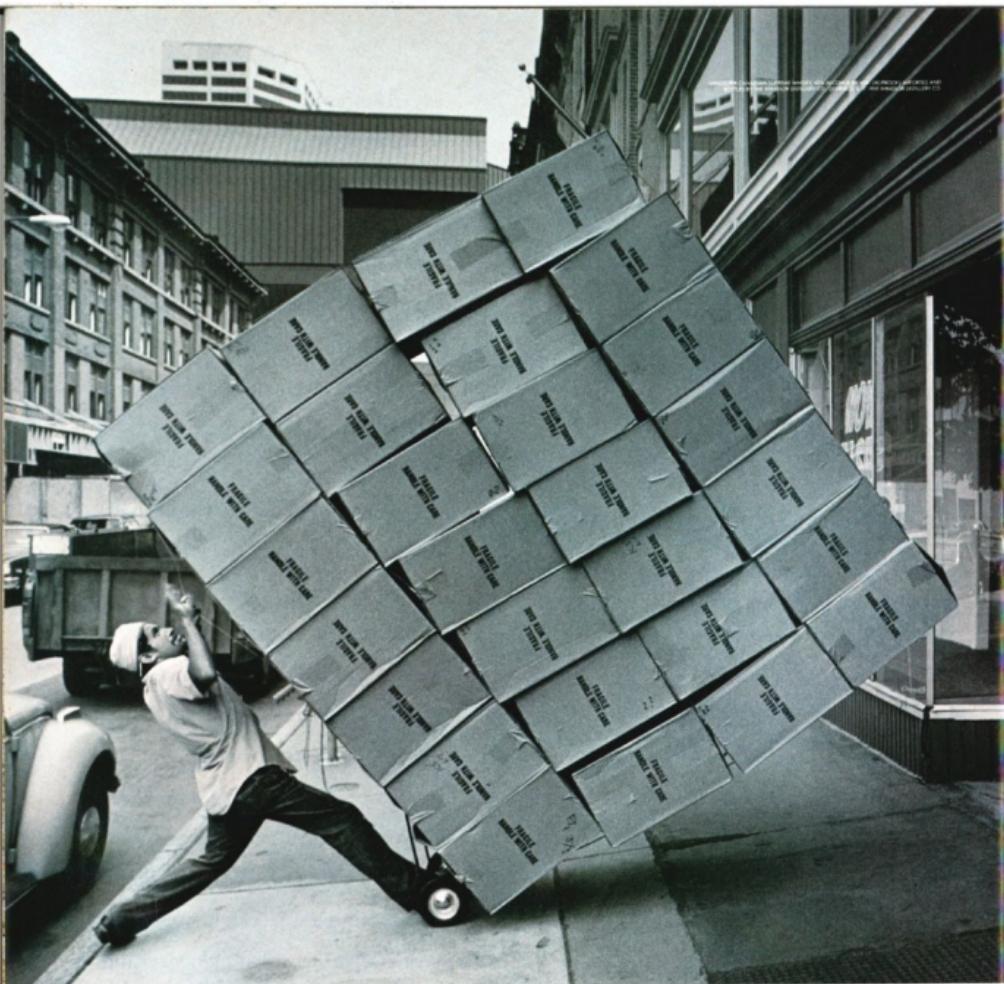
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Fortunately, every day comes with an evening.



Denim Goes Upscale

Designers are transforming the humble fabric into sexy, colorful party gear

By MARTHA DUFFY

Novelty is king in high fashion. From the unexpected to the outrageous, it writes the rules of the upmarket game. This season, boutiques are full of dressy clothes in bright colors—limes and lemons, oranges and magentas. Nothing new there. But wait—the surprise element is that the costumes are made of that old standby of working clothes and off-duty wear, denim. A humble cotton twill, typically a weave of indigo and white, it has always meant durability and comfort. Now it also means class.

"I would do anything *but* blue jeans in denim," designer Rebecca Moses says cheekily, "including very ladylike dresses and jackets that are embroidered and covered with rhinestones." Zang Toi, a Malaysian who is Seventh Avenue's latest find, is looking for a little shock value too. "I had to do something completely different," he says. "I went with bright red and shocking-pink denim, with metallic gold stitching." One of his best sellers is a sexy little bustier dress in bold colors. His next line includes a two-layered frolic: a chiffon pleated skirt over a pink denim sheath.

The house of Chanel has lent its great international cachet to upstart denim. German-born couturier Karl Lagerfeld's romance with the fabric is a weapon in his war against what he calls "the dictats of fashion," whereby certain garments and accessories can be worn only in particular settings—silk for splendor, denim for fun. In his designs for Chanel, the maestro is mixing up materials—tweed, denim, grosgrain—with such sleight of hand that some of his efforts look more formal than his variations on the house's classic cut.

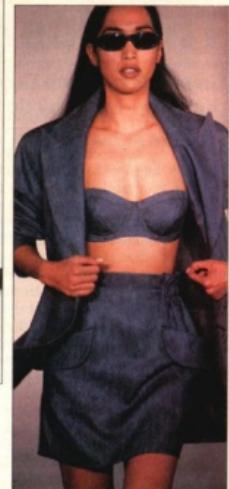
In Milan, Italy's irrepressible gaudily Franco Moschino points out that the Tois and the Lagerfelds are Johnny-come-latelies. Moschino has used denim for years in his clever, occasionally rude collections. He sells to royalty and rock stars—in fact, to anyone who is secure enough or desperate enough to want to stand out. Right now he is making shirts with looped embroidery across the chest. "I use denim as a symbol of our times," says Moschino, "in the same way that Andy Warhol, in his Pop Art, used wartime camouflage painted over faces, to give them a contemporary impression." He notes another important virtue of denim: "It makes you look younger."



PUTTIN' ON THE RITZ

Above, Karl Lagerfeld does the ladies-who-lunch bit in denim for Chanel; above right, Zang Toi's hot-pink sizzler over a gold mini; right, Rebecca Moses picks up all kinds of pieces in her cool summer suit

Denim is hardly the first Cinderella to be invited to fashion's gaudy ball. Coco Chanel, always well ahead of the game, made jersey into a chic material in the '20s. In the '30s gingham was popular with American designers, and it's turning up again this year. Today rayon is undergoing a renaissance, from something that made up Harry Truman's sport shirts to the fabric of favor for mimicking silk among most top-of-the-line designers.



For the moment, designer denim is a hot item, but when the fad is over, it is unlikely to decline in ignominy like the Nehru jacket. Instead it will probably become part of fashion's standing repertoire of alluring textiles. "Denim is the one thing everyone owns," says Donna Karan, who uses it extensively. From now on, it is likely to be found in garment bags as well as on coat pegs. —Reported by Farah Nayeri/Paris and Linda Williams/New York



JOAN MARCUS

Theater

They Just Keep Rolling Along

On sudden-death Broadway, what makes musicals like *Cats* and *Les Misérables* so durable—and why do they last so much longer than hits of the past?

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III

When the Nygaard family of Cupertino, Calif., went to New York City for vacation this month, they didn't visit the Statue of Liberty or the Empire State Building. For them, as for more than a third of the tourists who visit the city, the lure was the Broadway stage. They had already seen *Cats* twice and *Les Misérables* three times, mostly in London and San Francisco, so they headed straight for *The Phantom of the Opera* and *Miss Saigon*. They emerged elated—and ready, despite the \$60 ticket prices, to go back and see the shows again.

The Nygaards and their fellow out-of-towners, from Omaha or Oslo or Osaka, account for nearly half of Broadway's ticket sales. They go in search of brand names. Although the season that ended June 2 offered 28 new shows and 21 holdovers (some admittedly short-lived), the perennial Big Three—*Cats*, *Phantom* and *Les Miz*—accounted for a quarter of the audience and almost a third of the revenues. On the road, where commercial theater reaps much more income than on Broadway, the Big Three were even more dominant: of \$449 million in ticket sales, they commanded about 54%. (For investors, these shows are better than striking oil: they pay annual returns of up to double the

amount originally put in.) Among newer offerings, only *Miss Saigon*, which arrived in March to a record \$37 million advance sale and has already paid off half its \$11 million start-up cost, is regarded as a solid contender to join the gilded trinity.

The top three shows have become institutions, seemingly permanent in a business that is notoriously ephemeral. They attract younger audiences than most other Broadway shows, including many first-time theatergoers, and draw a volume of repeat business more common for kiddie films or rock bands. In a celebrity-conscious world, the Big Three are star-proof and almost never feature anyone with a significant recognition factor. Yet *Cats*, which advertises itself as "now and forever," will celebrate its ninth anniversary on Broadway in October, having run longer than *Oklahoma!* and *The Sound of Music* put together. *Les Miz*, at 4½ years, will soon pass *South Pacific*, while *Phantom*, at 3½ years, is way ahead of *Guys and Dolls* and *Annie Get Your Gun*.

This popularity seems unwavering. Cameron Mackintosh, who produced all three and also *Miss Saigon*, projects that *Cats* "will run another two years or so in New York." He predicts "four to five years" of additional life for *Les Misérables* and "certainly at least five years" more for *Phantom*. About *Saigon*, he says it is too soon to tell, especially because the show is

so elaborate. "With weekly operating costs close to \$500,000," says Mackintosh, "*Miss Saigon* only breaks even when it makes what *Les Miz* does selling every seat."

Producers have always dreamed of long runs, but the semiannual run is a phenomenon of recent years. The four most enduring Broadway shows—*A Chorus Line* (6,137 performances), the revival of *Oh! Calcutta!* (5,959), *Cats* (3,709 through last week) and *42nd Street* (3,486)—attained all or most of their runs during the '80s. If Mackintosh's projections prove right (and others in the industry believe they will), *Les Miz* and *Phantom* will outstrip *Hello, Dolly!* and *My Fair Lady* for the ninth and 10th spots among all-time long-runners.

Yet the phenomenon reaches beyond Mackintosh's megahits. *Me and My Girl*, a '30s Cockney farce that no one bothered to revive or import until the mid-'80s, ran longer than the revered, Pulitzer-prizewinning *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying* a quarter century before. *La Cage aux Folles*, noteworthy only because of its gay theme, played nearly half again as long as the exquisite *The King and I*.

Are today's shows so much better? Not according to critics. Are they more obviously relevant? Hardly. *Cats* owes as much to bygone British music hall and pantomime as it does to rock. *Les Miz* and *Phantom* are stories of 19th century France told



in traditional operatic style. Are they meticulously maintained, avoiding the decay of energy and skills that often besets long runs? Well, yes and no. Based on recent visits, *Phantom* and *Les Miz* are in splendid condition, better in some respects than on opening night. *Cats*, however, is a mess. The trademark feline movements erratically come and go. Most of the performers can dance, but only three or four sing adequately. Despite a deafening sound system, the diction is so bad that a spectator familiar with the lyrics often found them incomprehensible from the fourth row center.

What, then, accounts for the current era of long runs? One major factor is the rise of consumer air travel. Once tourism became another means of keeping up with the Joneses, or the Tanakas, seeing particular Broadway hits entered into the scorekeeping. Says Harvey Sabinson, executive director of the League of American Theaters and Producers: "It was not until at least the mid-'70s that we on Broadway began to think of ourselves as a tourist attraction and market that way. Once we did, it gave us a bigger audience and shows a longer life."

Another factor is the spread of TV commercials depicting action from shows. For the first time, the infrequent or hesitant theatergoer could get a tiny advance taste of the Broadway experience. The technique is effective, if costly. It arose, ironically, from Broadway's loss of musical influence. When its tunes were at the heart of the pop mainstream, Broadway enjoyed bountiful promotion via radio play both of original-cast albums and of recordings by other artists of the biggest ballads and showstoppers. As musical taste veered toward rock, however, pro-

ducers had to find other lures. It turned out that showy staging and scenic spectacle were ideally suited to being sold via TV, so the look began to replace the score as a show's signature.

A third factor, shrewdly in keeping with the anti-elitist temper of the times, is Mackintosh's marketing. While most producers build their promotion around quoting reviews and citing awards, Mackintosh all but ignores critics. Instead he develops a memorable thematic image for each show—the stylized face of the waif Cosette for *Les Miz*, a shimmering white mask for *Phantom*, a big pair of yellow eyes amid darkness for *Cats*, a helicopter rendered like a Chinese character for *Saigon*—and highlights



Performances

1,796	1,519	3,709
12,200	9,600	24,000

Attendance

2.8 million	2.4 million	5.4 million
19.2 million	14.4 million	38.9 million

Gross

\$119 million	\$102 million	\$210 million
\$605 million	\$500 million	over \$1 billion

Total Number of Worldwide Productions

23	12	21
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■ Broadway	Figures through 8/25
□ Worldwide total	TIME Chart by Steve Hart

Spectacle, sentiment and shrewd marketing make *Les Miz*, *Phantom* and *Cats* tourist attractions to rival the Statue of Liberty

it everywhere. To keep ads and posters clear of anything that might compete visually, he negotiates with the show's creators to omit or downplay customary credits. Mackintosh believes quote ads, or any other kind, are of minimal help: "You can remind people of your existence, but you cannot persuade. Word of mouth does that. In a long run, that is what any show depends on."

This marketing affirms a musical as something special, says Gerald Schoenfeld, chairman of the Shubert Organization, which owns or operates 17 of Broadway's 36 theaters, including those housing Mackintosh's hits. Canny showmanship, Schoenfeld adds, gets the media to convey the same idea: "When we cut a hole in the roof of the Winter Garden for *Cats*, it became news in hometowns across America. Events are what the public responds to. They want a sense of occasion."

What the public truly wants is, of course, impossible to fathom—especially when it is as diverse as the 10 million people who have seen the Big Three on Broadway or the 72.5 million who have attended worldwide. Mackintosh says, "I have no formula. Any man is lucky to be involved in one major success in a lifetime. To be involved in four defies explanation." One clear lesson does emerge. Certain theatrical tastes may be passé, certain critics disgruntled. For all the doomsaying about the Fabulous Invalid, the joy of theatergoing—to the right show, done in the right way for the right audience—remains as robust as ever.

People

By ALEXANDER TRESNIEWSKI/Reported by Linda Williams



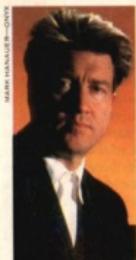
BRUNI/LAFON

Here's how very tight the economic squeeze is these days: **BLONDIE**, America's most enduring housewife, has decided to get a job. "Times are tough," says Dean Young, who has drawn the daily comic strip since his father, *Blondie's* creator, died in 1973. "And Dagwood has been ask-



Blondie Ambition

ing Dithers for a raise for 60 years." As for Blondie's career choice, which she will announce next month, Young will say only that she'll work at home. When Dagwood first hears about it, "he'll do a lot of shouting," says Young. "But gradually the idea will start to sound better."



MATTHEW GOLDBECK/OUTLINE

Damn Fine Coffee Table

From the fertile mind that brought you the log lady and the dancing dwarf comes... an espresso table? That's right. Quirky director **David Lynch** has ventured into furniture design. His first creation, available in a limited edition in either Douglas fir or birchwood, is on sale only at Los Angeles' hip Skank World vintage-furniture

store. Price: \$600. "People need a cool place to put their hot coffee," says Lynch, at work on the movie version of his twisted TV show *Twin Peaks*. The store's artsy clientele has given the tables rave reviews, which could lead to more funky furniture from Lynch. A blue-velvet sofa bed, perhaps?



BETTE MARSHALL—GAMMA-LIAISON

Just Fiddling Around

Rivals? **Itzhak Perlman** and **Pinchas Zukerman**? Nah. Two of the world's greatest violinists, these virtuosos are perfectly in tune with each other, as can be heard on their latest joint venture, a recording of a pair of Mozart duets and a Leclair sonata for two violins, due in October. "Doing this is like breathing," says Perlman,

who met Zukerman some 30 years ago in Israel. "We know each other's style. We talk to each other through music." Still, it's Perlman who plays lead violin on the new recording. "I have a slightly darker sound, so I always play the bottom," explains Zukerman. "But playing second fiddle is nothing to be ashamed of."

Yo, Ma!

Many a grown man has found that he can't get his mother off his back. **SYLVESTER STALLONE** hopes to shrug off the problem with a laugh. In the upcoming comedy *Stop or My Mom Will Shoot*, Sly is a cop and *Golden Girl* **ESTELLE GETTY** is his mother, who, says Stallone, "still has her very long apron strings wrapped around her son's throat." Sly hopes the change from macho man to mama's boy will temper his tough-guy image. So which is harder, breaking villains' faces or tickling funny bones? "My other films bruise me outside. Comedy bruises internally." Or, to paraphrase Edmund Kean, *Killing* is easy. *Comedy* is hard.



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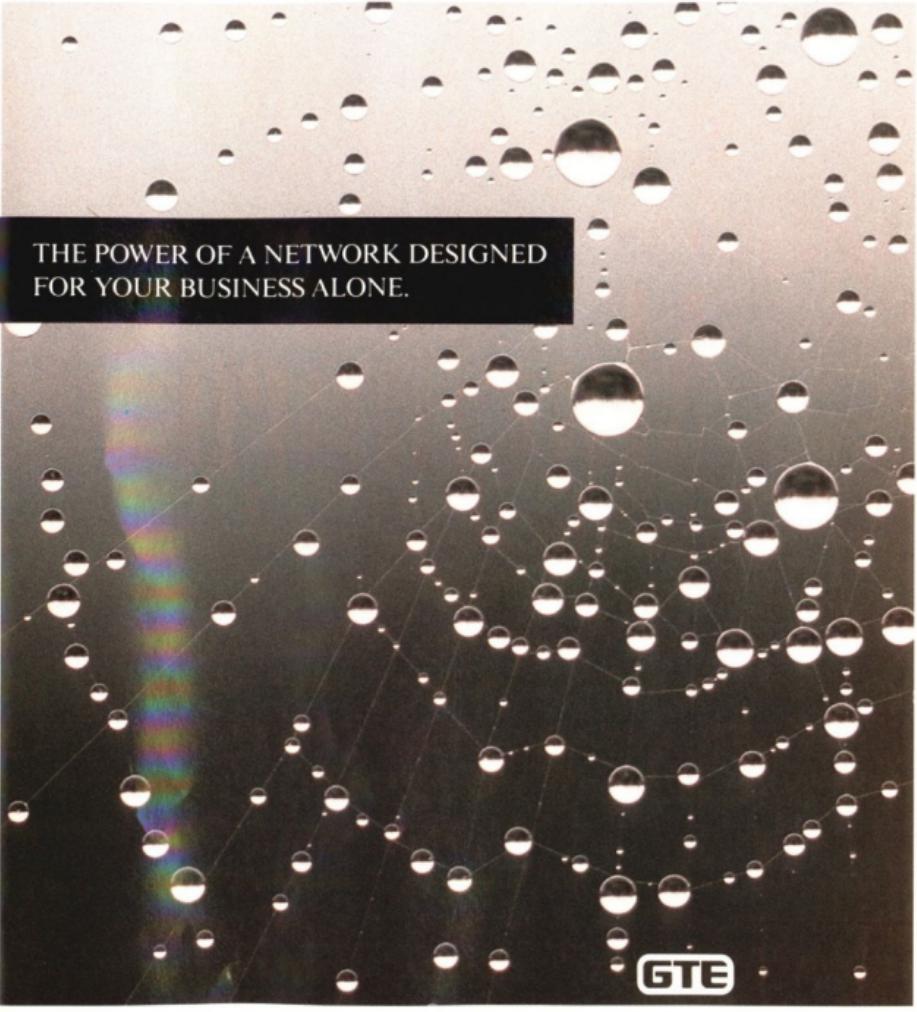
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